

SLINGSHOT

Issue #54

Berkeley, California

Spring 1996



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8 Free Radio Stations
across America

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Blockade

Free Radio Berkeley vs. United States of America

Free Radio Berkeley has been on the air, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week for over a year at the time this article is being written. The station has proved to be an invaluable resource to Berkeley's political and alternative communities and one of the most creative and rewarding experiences that many people involved in it have ever had.

Free Radio Berkeley is a *micro-powered* radio station broadcasting with about 25 watts of power. It reaches about 10 miles in every direction and is therefore, as a technical matter, very local and community based.

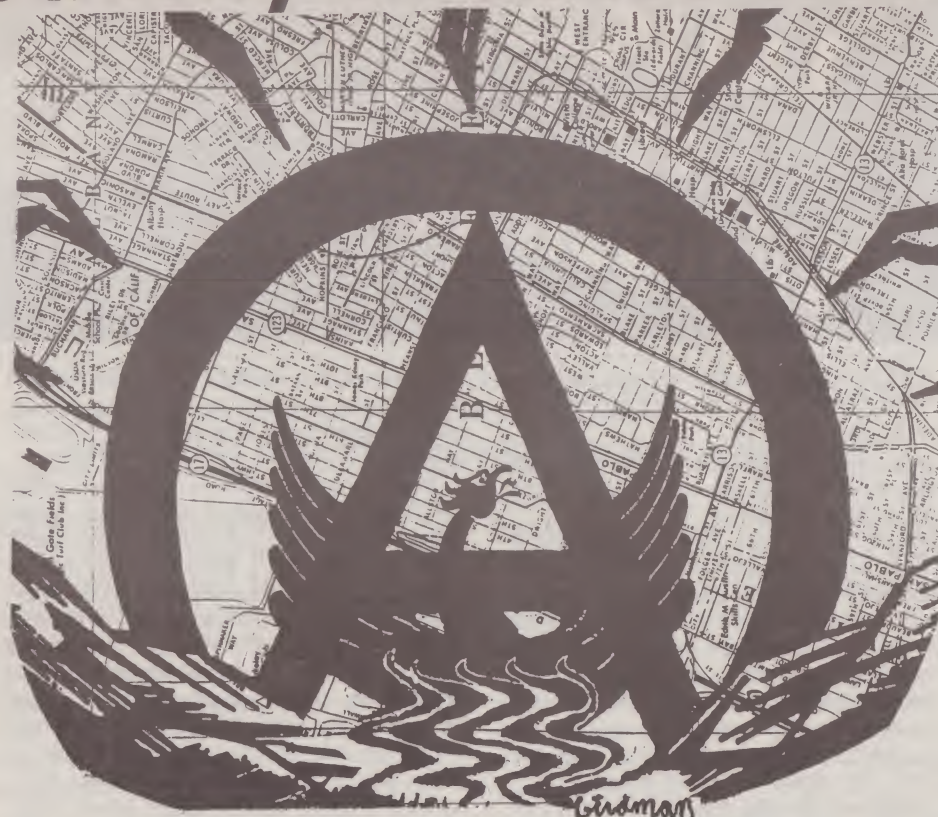
Because the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) refuses to issue licenses to stations with less than 100 watts of power, and because it is illegal to broadcast without an FCC license, Free Radio has been locked in a battle with the FCC since it went on the air.

In January, 1995, a U.S. District Court refused to grant the FCC an injunction against broadcasts by Free Radio Berkeley. The Court requested that the FCC address constitutional/free speech arguments before the Court would consider issuing an injunction.

The FCC refused to address the constitutional questions. Instead, they filed a motion for summary judgment. On April 12, the U.S. District Court hears the FCC's motion. If defendant Stephen Dunifer loses, the radio may be forced off the air by the time you read this article. If he wins the motion, he will probably have a full scale trial against the FCC sometime this year or next year.

Whatever the outcome, people in the Bay Area and across the continent should take advantage of the improved technology that allows stations like Free Radio to go on the air for a few hundred dollars.

Free Radio Berkeley is a beautiful model of what life could be like if the airwaves really belonged to the people (as the law says they are supposed to) and not to big corporations. Instead of format, you get programming as



diverse as a vibrant community can be. Issues of interest to the community get on the radio immediately, raw, uncensored. Money isn't the

object: love, community, freedom, expression, creativity, personal experience, and passion are. Anyone can be on the radio and put out

Prison Expansion and

Nearly one of every three black men between the ages of 20 and 29 is currently 'in contact' with the criminal (in)justice system in the United States--in jail, on probation or on parole. That is 827,440

the War On Drugs

people being locked up at a cost of \$6 billion dollars a year.

One factor that is a direct cause of racist lockup policies is the War on Drugs. Drug arrests have more than doubled during the 1980s, from 471,000 in 1980 to 1.2 million in 1989; people of color made up the largest part of those arrested. Black women locked

what they know about. And since we all know about different, wonderful, strange things, people can really learn a lot listening to a micro-power radio station.

The Legal Arguments

Although Free Radio Berkeley (FRB) won in Court against the FCC last year, the legal standard in that proceeding was different from this spring's. Last year, the FCC requested an injunction against FRB. To win, the FCC had to show *irreparable harm* from FRB's broadcasts and they had to show that FRB had no likelihood of success on the merits (the substantive constitutional arguments.). Given such a high standard, the FCC lost. It was clear FRB *might* win, and it was far from clear that FRB, with only questionable reports of interference with other stations and with only a weak signal, was irreparably harming the United States Government.

This spring, the FCC seeks summary judgment. A motion for summary judgment allows the party moving for it to end a case immediately and get *judgment* against the other party. A judgment from this type of motion is the same as if the case went to trial and a jury made a decision. A party must satisfy two tests to get summary judgment: (1) there are no disputed material facts at issue; and (2) the party moving for summary judgment must win as a matter of law given the non-disputed facts. Trials are held to resolve disputed facts. Summary judgment is only

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With mandatory minimum sentencing--for example, possession of crack cocaine automatically gets a person 5 years--and 'three strikes you're out' laws in effect, people

are being locked up at incredible rates. About 80% of the people in San Francisco County jail are there for drugs or drug related crimes. More than 626 Californians out of every 100,000 Californians are incarcerated. With the continuation 'three strikes' laws, at least 1 out of every 146 California residents will be locked up in state prisons by the year 2000.

While the numbers are daunting on their own, it is important to place the national drug 'war' policies in a larger context. Along with being an unwritten social policy for dealing with poor people, prisons are fast becoming

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Supporters of American Indian Movement (AIM) political prisoner Leonard Peltier block traffic Market and Van Ness Streets in SF during an early morning, March 20 demonstration to demand that Peltier be released from prison. Peltier has spent over 20 years in prison for the murder of 2 FBI agents during an FBI siege on an AIM compound at Pine Ridge, SD, despite the fact that government agents and the prosecutor in the case have stated that Peltier did *not* kill the agents. On March 20, the US Parole Commission again denied Peltier parole, stating that "there are no significant changes" in facts regarding the conviction and stating that Peltier has "not given a factual, specific account of [his] actions at the time of the offense that is *consistent* with the jury's verdict of guilt." How can he give an account consistent with a guilty verdict if he is innocent???

U.S. Immigration History and

The emergence of the U.S. nation-state began this country's history of parceling off social privileges for segments of the population in the interest of protecting a smaller ruling class elite. The U.S. was first

the Global Apartheid System

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Analysis

BART Fares Going Up

One of the keys of a free society is affordable and clean transportation for all. The decisions made recently about transportation in the Bay area are to have long term and unfortunately devastating effects on the

environment and the mobility of all but the rich.

Look out the BART window in West Oakland and realize how cheap that ticket could have been if the decision had been to subsidize clean and efficient transportation rather than rebuilding the monster Cypress freeway. Or you can curse the extra lane on I-80 when you realize that your bus doesn't run that late anymore and you're stranded. And when BART becomes too expensive to take to a show, you may be entertained by the unaccountable BART police force patrolling in



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Its across the board bad news for the low income commuter and beings that breath. BART fares rose significantly again on April 1st. AC transit, having already cut weekend service on 9 lines, plans in June to cut all late night service (with many lines ending at 7pm). These changes will force people to rely even more on cars for transport, congesting traffic, polluting the air & water, and paving the earth. Refer to past Slingshot articles for many rants about how stupid cars really are! And the costs of owning a car, including registration, smogging, insurance & parking tickets make this option unavailable for lower income folks.

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The emergence of the U.S. nation-state began this country's history of parceling off social privileges for segments of the population in the interest of protecting a smaller ruling class elite. The US was first built upon the colonization of indigenous people's land, soon followed by the 'forced migration' of Africans under slavery. The U.S. territory has continued to evolve, through processes of migration, into the current monolithic social fortress of haves, contracted have-nots, and will-never-haves.

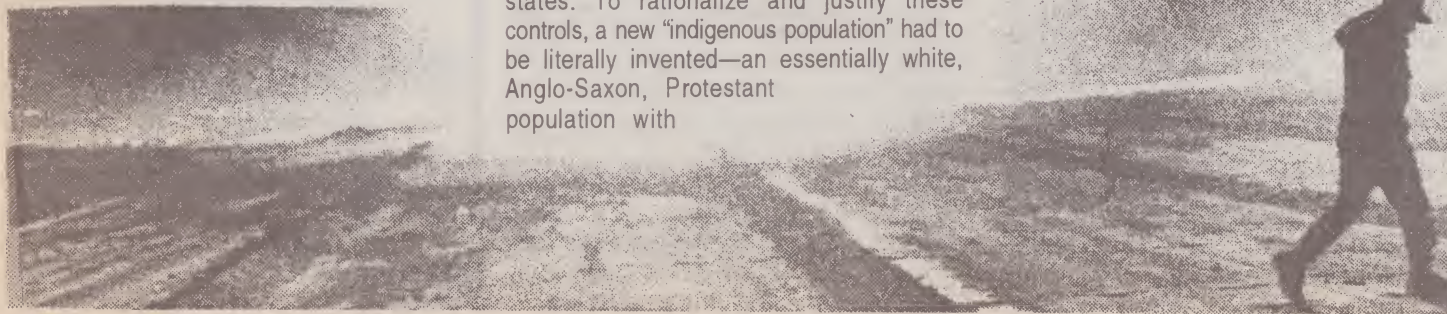
At the time the initial 'foreigners' showed up, "america" did not have borders—or the kinds of social relations that require them. The people living here were not burdened by any state, and they made no claims to own the areas they lived within. The whole concept of borders, of owned and administered land, was brought here at the behest of European states. To rationalize and justify these controls, a new "indigenous population" had to be literally invented—an essentially white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant population with

origins in northern Europe. This arbitrary construction has been a key factor shaping immigration to the 'United States'.

History

U.S. immigration history can be divided into large and quite distinct phases. During the

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SLINGSHOT

It has been almost 1 year since our last issue. What a drag! Maybe we'll finally get our shit together and print more often.

It is hard to say exactly *why* Slingshot gets published, but some of our recent thoughts are that the paper ought to be used to communicate with a larger community than just a few "professional" activists. To that end, we are trying to print a paper that reaches out to all kinds of folks, even though we don't always reach that goal. Let us know what you think.

In view of capital's global economic restructuring and its continual attack on the majority of people's living standards, culture, and the environment that sustains us all, its time to get out and *organize* to work to *expand* the number of people involved in political and alternative projects. While there is a need to defend gains that have been made, we need to go beyond "resist 187" and "save affirmative action" to "create a society with more freedom, more justice, more sustainability."

As always, it takes a lot of people and a lot of small and large contributions to keep Slingshot going.

Everyone reading this is invited to submit well researched, carefully written, relevant articles, letters, art, and photographs for the next issue.

Also, it now costs about \$1,500.00 just to print and mail one issue of Slingshot due to a recent almost doubling of printing costs. That is a lot of money. Donations are *greatly* needed if we want to come out more than once a year. (P.S. We borrowed about \$400 to print this issue so help us pay off the debt!)

Articles or letters in Slingshot don't always represent the opinions of the Slingshot collective. Also, not everyone in Slingshot always agrees with everything we print. Enjoy.

Printed April 1, 1996 (no joke)

Volume 1, Number 54 • Circulation: 8,000

Slingshot Newspaper

3124 Shattuck Avenue • Berkeley, CA 94705

Letters to Slingshot

Slingshot is illogical

Dear Slingshot:

I was puzzled and bemused by your lead piece in the last issue, which was essentially a trashing of the so-called Unabomber.

Criticism of those who practice propaganda of the deed is commonplace enough. From a left perspective it is certainly understandable, and to be sure, I criticize such actions myself. I recognize that the small and more badly-organized a movement is (and goodness knows our movement is nothing if not tiny and disorganized), the more vulnerable that movement will be to the repression which inevitably follows from any militant action, whether principled or not.

Nonetheless, we must also recognize that such militant actions **by individuals** are inevitable whenever (1) political conditions are intolerable, and (2) the oppositional movement does not exist, or is so puny as to be invisible to many. In other words, whether we agree with the Unabomber's tactics or not, he is no culprit, but rather, is a symptom of an impossible situation. Individual action will continue, even after mass action has long been stifled.

My puzzlement arises not from the criticism itself, but from its source, and from its position as an unsigned lead article which thus gives the appearance of its being the official editorial position of Slingshot. Some years ago, there was no criticism of the Unabomber-like tactics advocated by Rosebud Denovo in your pages. And I note that you are still advertising that fundraising t-shirt which advocates practicing random acts of terrorism! I submit that you cannot logically hold both positions.

Yours in Struggle,

Dave Linn

but a person shot to death is unacceptable and the confusion don't stop there... Killing is killing and this system create false justification to murder at will.

When judges lock a person up they ain't solvin' the problem of the *victim* or the person. When judges hang a person, put a person in the electric chair, give a person a lethal injection, shoot a person to death for crime judges didn't see them commit, they ain't solvin' the problem of crime of the so-called criminal or the victim,... The solution must be traced to the inventor of guns, the sickness that caused people to shoot guns and the teaching that mislead people into thinking they will not be safe without guns, bombs, prisons, prison guards, all agencies of police for these agencies of police, lethal injections, prisons is not the solution to the problem of crime, they are the supporters of crime that is caused by the people that run this system of crime, the people that encourage the invention of guns, bombs, weapons and paid their supporting agencies to stand you before a judge, put you in prison and punish you for their creation,... This is the wisdom of John Africa! Long Live John Africa! Move's aim is to get to the *root* cause of *all* problems, which is this system. Move confronts this system uncompromisingly with the *truth* and this is why we are in prison, *not* for committing any crime. PCRA appeals are pending for the Move 9 in the near future.

On the Move,
Debbie Sims Africa #006307
SCI-Cambridge Springs
451 Fullerton Ave.
Cambridge. Springs., PA 16403-1238

Salvadoran police can't recognize transmitters

easier for the media to create a restless, hateful, materialistic nation of wannabe rich mindlessly-voting nation of consumers than it is for you to cut through the sea of bullshit with a leaflet here, a newspaper there, a potluck or a couple of demonstrations that Mr. and Ms. Dense American Voter are never going to read, see or hear. Perhaps we do need more individual acts of terrorism just to cut through the bullshit and show that the war is on. For the militias of the left are virtually non-existent and the right-wing are armed to the teeth. The govt. is completely aware of it. What's more, we tend to forget the misinformation that we continually get that are guised under the pretense of taking guns off the street or 'out of the hands of our kids'. When in fact, it's just another step towards creating a more docile public.

Perhaps I've got you folks all wrong, and your paper is simply a conduit for information and nothing more. But if you are ideologues of one sort or another then kindly define the parameters of what you believe resistance should be. Personally, I've lost hope in there ever being another major mass anarchist movement in this century, (not since either the Spanish Civil War or the fringe of the 60's). In any event, I take as much comfort from Norman Spinrad's "Agents of Chaos" as I do from Kropotkin's theories on Social Utopianism.

Yours in whatever the fuck,

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MOVE information

To Slingshot: Ona Move:

My name is Merle Africa, I am a member of the Move organization. I recently received a copy of the *Slingshot*. I thought it was enlightening and very thought provoking. Its really good to know that your paper (regardless of how often you're able to publish) is enlightening folks to the problems of oppression this system of

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On the Move

I'm writing to let you know that I did receive your newspaper, *Slingshot* issue #53. Me and my sisters were recently transferred from Muny to Cambridge Springs, PA. We will be here a while. I am sending an article for your information or if you care to print it in support of Mumia and against the death penalty.

The Move organization is currently involved in doing whatever can be done to bring national attention to the unjust imprisonment and most recent signing of the death warrant for Mumia Abu Jamal by PA's Governor Tom Ridge. The Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) is saying Mumia should be executed because he (allegedly) killed

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I got to El Salvador without problems on Dec. 4th, the day police shutdown their countries/community radio stations (the government shutdown 11 community stations-ed). The stations are similar to Free Radio Berkeley but more into providing a service to the community rather than random free expression. I've been visiting many of the radio stations. I have a list of the stations and what cities they are in. When I arrived I randomly heard a protest while I was at the post office. I was just in time for the second anniversary of Radio Sumpul. I also got to see El Salvador's right-wing president inaugurate a bridge.

I'm at Radio Izcanal which will start broadcasting again tomorrow. When the police came to shut it down, they didn't know anything about radio so the D.J.'s told them the tape console was the transmitter so the police took it and the mixer but left the real transmitter. Radio Izcanal is on the west side of the plaza while the soldiers live on the southside. We listen to anti-military music and watch them drink coke. The doors are secured have lots of locks and there's bars on the windows, so if the police come we won't let them in. But unlike the U.S. they don't think the police will come.

Here there are always large labor protests in the capital. The new National Police are doing bad things. Soldiers patrol around which is a

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Johnathan Montague 1942-1995



Infoshops & radical spaces in N. America

Long Haul/Infoshop 3124 Shattuck Ave Berkeley, CA 94705 510-540-0751	Bound Together Books 1369 Haight St San Francisco, CA 94117 415-431-8355	The Epicenter Zone 475 Valencia SF, CA 94103 415-431-2725
Hindenburg 1114 21st St #666 Sacramento, CA 95814 916-443-4034	The Barn c/o Drop Out 1901 P Street Sacramento, CA 95814	Left Bank Books 92 Pike St Seattle, WA 98101 206-622-0195
Lies Collective Autonomy House POB 11015 Salt Lake City, UT 94147	Toledo Un-named 1720 Jefferson Toledo, OH 43624 419-244-1443	223 Freedom & Mutual Aid Ctr. 223 W. Burnside Portland, OR 97209 503-223-6696
Trumbullplex 4210 Trumbull Ave Detroit, MI 48208 313-832-0114	Info Terror Alt. Library Antioch College 795 Livermore St Yellow Springs, OH 45387	Mayday Books 301 Cedar Ave Minneapolis, MN 55404
The Autonomous Zone 1573 N. Milwaukee Ave #420 Chicago, IL 60622 312-278-0775	Rainbow Bookstore Coop 426 W Gilman Madison, WI 53706	
A-Space 4722 Baltimore Ave Philadelphia, PA 19143 215-724-1469	Wooden Shoe Books 112 S. 20th St Philadelphia, PA 19103 215-569-2477	

Infosshops & radical spaces in N. America

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| Long Haul/Infoshop
3124 Shattuck Ave
Berkeley, CA 94705
510-540-0751 | Bound Together Books
1369 Haight St
San Francisco, CA 94117
415-431-8355 | The Epicenter Zone
475 Valencia
SF, CA 94103
415-431-2725 |
| Hindenburg
1114 21st St #666
Sacramento, CA 95814
916-443-4034 | The Barn c/o Drop Out
1901 P Street
Sacramento, CA 95814 | Left Bank Books
92 Pike St
Seattle, WA 98101
206-622-0195 |
| Lies Collective
Autonomy House
POB 11015
Salt Lake City, UT 94147 | Toledo Un-named
1720 Jefferson
Toledo, OH 43624
419-244-1443 | 223 Freedom & Mutual Aid Ctr.
223 W. Burnside
Portland, OR 97209
503-223-6696 |
| Trumbullplex
4210 Trumbull Ave
Detroit, MI 48208
313-832-0114 | Info Terror Alt. Library
Antioch College
795 Livermore St
Yellow Springs, OH 45387 | Mayday Books
301 Cedar Ave
Minneapolis, MN 55404 |
| The Autonomous Zone
1573 N. Milwaukee Ave #420
Chicago, IL 60622
312-278-0775 | Rainbow Bookstore
Coop
426 W Gilman
Madison, WI 53706 | |
| A-Space
4722 Baltimore Ave
Philadelphia, PA 19143
215-724-1469 | Wooden Shoe Books
112 S. 20th St
Philadelphia, PA 19103
215-569-2477 | Ben Fletcher Center
1652 Ridge Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19130
215-232-8754 |
| Last Elm Cafe
160 N Winooski
Burlington, VT 05401 | Perennial Books
open by appointment
7 Court Square
Montague, MA 01351
413-367-2640 | Civic Media Center
1021 W. University Ave
Gainesville, FL 32603
904-373-0010 |
| Lucy Parson Center
3 Central Sq.
Cambridge, MA 02139 | Black Out Books
50 Ave. B
New York, NY 10009
212-777-1967 | Librarie Alternative
2035 Blvd St.
Laurent
Montreal PQ H2X 213
Canada |
| The Activist Center
618-620 View St
Victoria BC V8V 1J6 Canada
604-380-0102 | | |



On the Move

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I got to El Salvador without problems on Dec. 4th, the day police shutdown their countries/community radio stations (the government shutdown 11 community stations-ed). The stations are similar to Free Radio Berkeley but more into providing a service to the community rather than random free expression. I've been visiting many of the radio stations. I have a list of the stations and what cities they are in. When I arrived I randomly heard a protest while I was at the post office. I was just in time for the second anniversary of Radio Sumpul. I also got to see El Salvador's right-wing president inaugurate a bridge.

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Here there are always large labor protests in the capital. The new National Police are doing bad things. Soldiers patrol around which is a violation of the peace accord. -T.

You talk about building a mass movement?!

Dear *Slingshot* Editor,

Even though I agree that it's fucked up to do bombings that endanger innocent workers and children, for a paper that goes by the name *Slingshot* and then tells people not to commit individual acts of terrorism, strikes me as being a bit hypocritical if not chickenshit. It's like when rock bands go on TV and tell people not to do drugs (get high on life or something). Like shuh! the bands don't use drugs?...and they try to pass themselves off as sex, drugs and rock n' roll rebellious types.

What's more you're always glorifying the actions of militants. Whether it's Native Americans or German or Italians autonomists you're still glorifying without critique. And anarchism is that way, in the sense that it generally appeals to those who have problem with authority figures. The romance of the revolution without facing the harsh realities of warfare.

And you talk about building a mass movement? Quite frankly, I doubt it pals. Phil Ochs once said "if Elvis Presley ever became Ché Guevara, then the revolution would be on". But as we've seen, it's

Johnathan Montague 1942-1995



Jonathan Montague, self styled eco-shaman & beloved busybody, died shortly after our last issue. We'd like to recognize his unique contribution & insight. Jonathan wandered Berkeley with a basketball studying the Revolutionary Geography, introducing folks, and enjoying his life. He was a long-time member of *Grassroots*, a Berkeley radical paper in the 1980s, a friend to the Ecology Center, a plague to the *Daily Cal* and he attended many *Slingshot* meetings. Proud, stubborn and with a heart that cared for even the most lost of society, Jonathan lovingly attended the Peoples Park Community. His Yip Yips and poignant quips are sadly missed.

Donate to Slingshot

If you like this issue, consider donating to *Slingshot*. *Slingshot* would like to start coming out quarterly again, but that requires a lot of money. It costs about \$1,500.00 for each issue including printing and mailing costs. That means that each copy costs about 20 cents and each column inch in here costs about \$2.15! If you have money, send it. If you can organize a benefit, contact us and do it. People who can afford it are encouraged to donate \$20-\$50 per issue, but any amount would help. Send donations to the address above.

Lawrence Berkeley Labs: Holding waste over our heads

The Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, sprawling over 130 acres in the hills at the east end of Berkeley, wants to increase its "mixed waste" storage capacity from 440 gallons to 3,520 gallons at its existing Hazardous Waste Handling Facility. And, LBL wants to increase by 1,925 gallons, the "Mixed Waste" storage capacity at its massive new "Replacement Hazardous Waste Handling Facility," now under construction high in the Berkeley Hills.

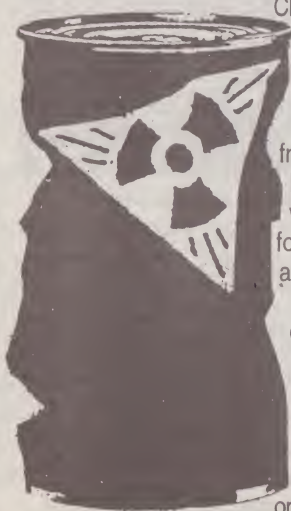
What is Mixed Waste? "Mixed Waste" is waste that is *both* radioactive and *otherwise* hazardous. Although LBL did not invent the term, "mixed waste" is a deliberate and shameless euphemism calculated to mislead the public. LBL uses "mixed waste" to hide the actual amount of radioactive waste that it produces and stores. In 1991, LBL held 3,538,000 curies of radioactive waste. By mixing radioactive waste with toxic sludge and other hazardous wastes, and then measuring the volume of this "mixed waste," LBL seeks to avoid its responsibility to measure the actual radioactive content of the "mixed waste." Thus, the Lab is likely producing considerably more "Radioactive Waste" than its officials are admitting to the public.

LBL also wants to cut back on its training procedures for employees who handle hazardous waste. And, LBL wants to handle and store new "waste streams," including elemental mercury—a hazardous substance, oxidizers with radionuclides—a mixed radioactive and hazardous substance, and

Water and Air Reactive Chemicals with Radionuclides—a mixed radioactive and hazardous substance.

Where Will All This Radioactive Waste Go?

LBL has no contingency plans for its radioactive and mixed wastes if the two federal nuclear waste storage compounds, in Idaho and Tennessee, cannot always accept all of LBL's radioactive and "mixed waste." LBL refuses to acknowledge the fact that the Idaho and Tennessee waste dumps will soon start taking in massive amounts of nuclear waste from the countries that formerly were in the Soviet Union, as well as from other countries.



Continued on Page 15

Clearly, the long-term storage of LBL's toxic waste will be a lower priority than the nuclear waste from other countries. It is likely that there will be no place at all for LBL's radioactive and "mixed waste" to go, and thus it will continue to pile up in the Berkeley Hills. What will happen when a major earthquake occurs on the Hayward fault? For one thing, there would likely be resultant fires and

Pressure needed to finally free former Panther Geronimo Ji Jaga (Pratt)

The best chance in years for Oakland resident, former Black Panther and political prisoner Geronimo Ji Jaga (Pratt) to get out of prison is coming up April 18, 1996.

Geronimo is the longest held political prisoner in the US. He was convicted of a 1968 murder that the FBI and the government *knew* he could not have committed. FBI surveillance recorded Geronimo at a high level Panther political meeting in Oakland at the time of his alleged crime, which happened in Santa Monica over 400 miles away.

Years later, FBI Freedom of Information Act files revealed that Geronimo was a prime target of the FBI's COINTELPRO program, and that Geronimo was on a list of those to be "neutralized." These documents also revealed that the prosecution had spies in the defense attorney camp and that the main witness against Geronimo, Julio Butler, was a paid police agent.

Two years ago, activists finally brought Geronimo's framing to public attention. LA DA Gil Garcetti promised to re-examine Geronimo's conviction, after years of official silence, lies and

Continued on Page 13

EARTH FIRST! BOMBING CASE UPDATE OPD SPIES ON EAST BAY GROUPS

It's been nearly a year since Slingshot gave an update on the progress of Judi Bari's lawsuit against the FBI. She's suing them for their part in the 1990 car bombing that injured her and Daryl Cherney, two key EF! activists.

In pre-trial "discovery" testimony, they learned about local police spying on political activists who were engaging in perfectly legal free speech activities. Although Earth First! is not based in Oakland and has held very few demonstrations there, the Oakland Police were the worst. OPD "intelligence" officer Kevin Griswold admitted that his department keeps files on over 300 political groups and individuals in the Bay Area. He said the Oakland Police have spied on Earth First! since 1984, and had placed their own informant inside Earth First! to report back to Griswold on plans for upcoming demonstrations. Griswold said he shares his information with the FBI.

Attorney General guidelines specifically bar the FBI from engaging in this kind of broad-based political spying. These guidelines were enacted in the 1970's after FBI abuses



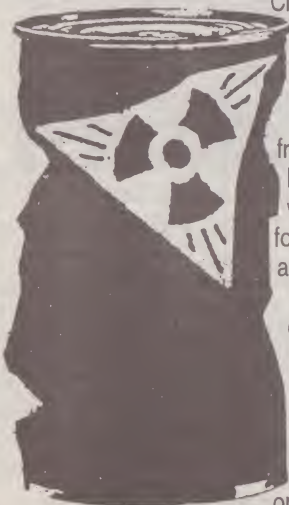
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Attorney General guidelines specifically bar the FBI from engaging in this kind of broad-based political spying. These guidelines were enacted in the 1970's after FBI abuses against the Black Panthers, the American Indian Movement, and others were exposed. One of the ways the FBI gets around these restrictions is by getting local police to run political spying operations.

Face to face with the enemy

Also this year, the FBI attempted to block



testimony from Richard Held. Held was the Special Agent In Charge of the San Francisco FBI office when Judi Bari was bombed in 1990. He is also a 25-year veteran of COINTELPRO, with a long history of abusing activists.

The judge ruled against the FBI, and allowed Richard Held to be questioned, which few of Held's victims have ever had the opportunity to do. Held testified, in effect, that he was far too important to have bothered with a case as trivial as the bombing. He claimed to have been unaware of the raging controversy over Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney's arrests. FBI Headquarters did send him memos about it, however, and demanded that his office file weekly reports on the case so that they could respond to the "numerous inquiries" they were getting. Held also claimed that he was barely aware of, and certainly unconcerned by, press reports about the FBI's handling of the case. He also claimed to not recall making a rare

The World Bank and IMF— Banking on global misery

SAP-ing Us Dry

Founded in 1945 along with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank has been instituting Structural Adjustment Programs

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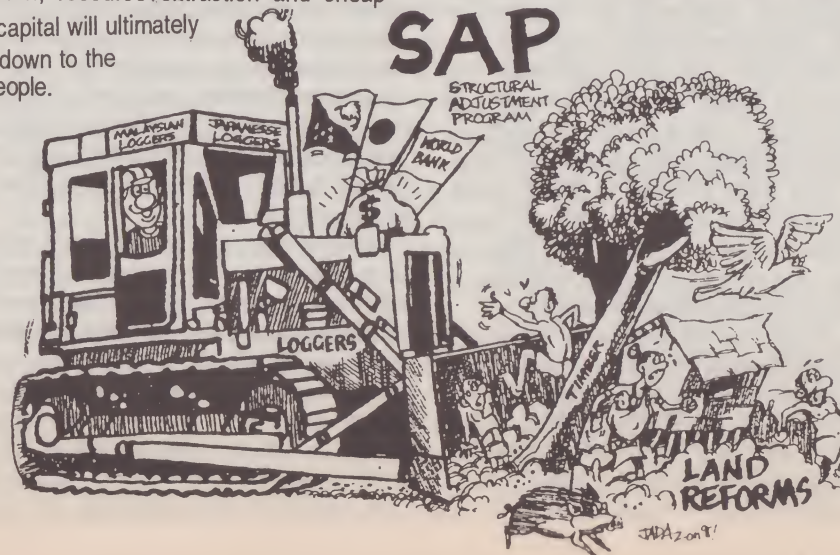
Founded in 1945 along with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank has been instituting Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in the southern hemisphere since the early 1980s. Almost every single 'Third World' country has undergone a SAP since then. World Bank loans and SAPs are directly connected to historical patterns of north/south relationships, most notably the debts owed to private banks by the Third World from the 1970s. The World Bank is exactly what it says it is—a bank. It lends money to countries who are already in debt to other nation-states, and essentially takes over old debts. In other words, to pay the *interest* on old loans, a country has to secure new loans. And that means following new rules.

While supposedly tailor made for individual countries, almost every SAP includes the following:

- cutbacks in government spending, especially social spending (services like health care, education, housing, and transportation)
- freezing or cutting back wages, as well as lay-offs
- privatizing state enterprises and deregulating the economy
- liberalizing the market (in other words, reducing and dismantling regulations on the environment, labor policies and prices, as these regulations interfere with a 'free' market)
- devaluation of the national currency (in order to promote exports and earn foreign exchange). Workers are thus working harder for less money

- shifting the economy to an export production focus (even if a majority of the people within a country's borders are landless and starving, chances are the main export of that country is a food item to the north)
- providing stimulus for foreign investors to invest (such as raising interest rates—the businesses save money, but the people suffer as consumers of basic goods)
- natural resource (over)use. The use of high-tech, non-sustainable methods of agriculture abound (for example, heavy and dangerous use of toxics as fertilizers and pesticides).

Based on neo-classical "trickle-down" economics, the World Bank says that when a country follows the above rules, they will attract foreign investors. The Third World will be pulled into the global market (that mythical 'global village') at the point of production, resource extraction and cheap labor; capital will ultimately trickle down to the poor people.



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This is hardly the way it has worked in the 16 years since its implementation. What SAPs have been is a medium for restructuring so-called developing countries into the global market, to a level of a direct outpouring of wealth and resources from the south to the north. SAPs radically alter a country's social and economic structures, while denying all real chances for the creation of domestic markets, or of programs that do anything useful for the majority of the people.

While removing the government from the economy may not be undesirable, it is not what SAPs really do. There are nation-state governments running the World Bank. As a single nation, the United States holds the most voting power in the World Bank. Indeed United States tax dollars fund the United States' part in the Bank. The Bank operates under shrouds of secrecy; from the planning of SAPs

Continued on Page 15

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More lies

Another example of the FBI's apparently-routine lying in this case showed in their investigation records after the bombing. Recent testimony by local police has revealed that they falsified those records to cast suspicion on Earth Firsters.

FBI files quote two Humboldt County sheriff lieutenants naming ten EFLers as the "core group capable of violence." However, when those Humboldt sheriffs were questioned, they denied saying this. They agreed that they had given those names to the FBI, but they said the question they had been asked was, "Who is the core group organizing Redwood Summer," not "Who is the core group capable of violence." The sheriffs said that the people on the list were all non-violent, and that they had never told the FBI otherwise.

The next step

The pre-trial discovery period has been concluded, so the next step is to get into court to prove the case. The FBI will try and make it as difficult and expensive as possible, so Judi Bari supporters and FBI haters alike need to raise money to pay for expert witnesses and to organize 10,000 documents. If you can donate anything, send it to: Redwood Summer Justice Project, P.O. Box 14720, Santa Rosa, CA 95402.

Don't let up now—Mumia Abu-Jamal MUST NOT DIE!!

by Kilu Nyasha

Sitting in judge Albert Sabo's court in Philadelphia on August 15, all the reports I'd heard and read about this "hanging judge" became instantly credible. Throughout the hearings, virtually *all* of the defense's motions were denied and the prosecutor's granted; their objections overruled and prosecutor's sustained. The lone exception, of course, was the Stay of Execution, a decision rendered from a higher level, and a direct result of the international campaign; a people's victory. During the closing arguments, Sabo nodded out during the defense' remarks, but woke up to hear the prosecutor's. Weighing in Mumia's favor, the appellate courts have reversed, completely or in part, 11 of Sabo's capital cases. In fact, Sabo has one of the nation's highest reversal rates, 34%! The case for a retrial of Abu-Jamal is objectively a strong one.

As a journalist who has broadcast interviews/commentaries by and about Abu-Jamal and corresponded with him for three years, I've learned enough about this very rare human being (husband/father/grandfather, activist/journalist/author and MOVE supporter) to believe him incapable of cold-blooded murder. Mumia's philosophy is about LIFE, not death: preserving human, animal, and environmental life. Even 700 pages of FBI files resulting from the Bureau's surveillance of Abu-Jamal from the time he was a teenaged Panther noted he had "no propensity for violence." In the context of the ongoing police scandal in Philadelphia, it was recently exposed that a policeman was penalized by his superiors for reporting that other cops *shot* MOVE members as they fled the raging fires resulting from the bombing of their home in 1985 -- fires that killed 11 people including five children and destroyed a whole block of black-owned houses. When the officer refused to take the truth out of his report, his colleagues threw fire bombs into his office, glued his file reports together, and even his supervisors



Thousands of Mumia's supporters marched from Philadelphia's City Hall to Independence Hall, demanding that Mumia be granted a fair trial.

At least five policemen have pled guilty to a host of false arrests, frame-ups, and shakedowns that rocked Philadelphia as at least 50 cases of false imprisonment have been exposed with its victims having spent years in prison. (A particularly egregious case is that of Betty Patterson, a 56-year-old Black grandmother and church activist falsely jailed for three years for allegedly selling crack. Other cases left peoples lives in ruins and in some cases destroyed.) So recall, at the scene of the crime, December 9, 1981, Mumia's brother, William Cook, was being beaten about the head with a flashlight. When Mumia attempted a rescue, he was shot and brutally beaten while critically wounded, and beaten again at the hospital awaiting surgery. In fact, doctors came to Mumia's rescue when they spied police stepping on his waste bag to force toxins back into his system—attempted murder. No officers were penalized. And the

Billy Cook's recent reappearance in Pittsburgh at the civil hearing, and subsequent disappearance after agreeing to testify in Philadelphia lends even more credibility to allegations of police using life-threatening terror tactics against eye witnesses. Not only did Cook receive threats to his life immediately after the incident, his newsstand was firebombed by police and he was forced underground by their sheer terror.

The international groundswell of demonstrations last summer prompted statements from such disparate sources as South Africa's President Nelson Mandela, who wrote to Pennsylvania Governor Thomas Ridge urging him "to commute the death sentence imposed upon Mumia Abu-Jamal;" and French President Jacques Chirac, who authorized the French Ambassador in Washington to take "any step that might help to save the life of Mr. Mumia Abu-Jamal."

Germany's Foreign Minister and 51 members of the British Parliament voiced their support for a new trial; and at a press conference called by the International Parliament of Writers on August First, Salman Rushdie condemned "the judicial error, not accidental but construed" by which Abu-Jamal was framed and sentenced to death. This was echoed by the Union of Journalists of Cuba and the National Union of Journalists in Britain that made Abu-Jamal an honorary union member.

A surprisingly strong letter from the congressional Black Caucus, June 30th, sent to Attorney General Janet Reno, stated, "It is clear that the treatment of evidence and the application of justice in this instance have been at best arbitrary and capricious....If he is innocent, to put him to death on the basis of the evidence at hand is to make of us the very murderers against whom we seek relief."

But aside from a blitz of articles around the date of the scheduled execution, August 17th, the American press has been relatively silent on Abu-Jamal's case—especially when compared to the 24/7, year-long coverage of O.J. Perhaps established journalists feel somewhat threatened by an *activist* journalist who has had the courage to challenge editors with bold, truthful reporting. Before his arrest in Dec. '81, Abu-Jamal was President of the Philadelphia Chapter of the National Association of Black Journalists. Now, even his former NABJ associates rebuffed all appeals to come to his aide until a statement supporting a retrial was pulled out of them like teeth following a storm of protest that greeted their national convention the very week their former colleague was to be executed.

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On July 22nd, in Berlin, 4,000 Germans rallied in support of Mumia and opposition to the death penalty; In Italy, 100,000 people signed a petition taken to the U.S. Embassy in Rome; the Italian Parliament passed a resolution urging a stay of execution;

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Continued on Page 13

Assata said Affirmative Action is important, but...

A dialogue on reform and revolution between two anarch@-punks

Valo: Hey, I've noticed you've been working on that Affirmative Action movement recently. I've only been here a little while and there's nothing like that in Brazil, can you explain what it is?

Gru: Affirmative action is basically a way of trying to assure that people of color don't get discriminated against when they apply for jobs or try to get in universities, get grants etc. When certain ethnic groups are underrepresented, affirmative action programs outreach to those groups and use ethnicity as a factor in choosing from among qualified applicants. The UC Regents voted to ax affirmative action in hiring and admissions on the UC campuses and there is an initiative



breaking out, you know what I mean? It's a subtle way of crushing a struggle. When people achieve their rights through legal means they often end up being paralyzed by the law itself, trusting in their own executioners.

Of course the struggle for our rights is important and Assata knows how much this cost just as well as Mumia, and all the people who were killed, imprisoned and exiled know. But now all that struggle has been exchanged for passivity. People have to realize that they can't trust the legal system to do anything but fuck them over. This racist government should die together with all the racists. Ya know?

Gru: Yeah I guess that's true but on the other hand it can be pretty difficult to get people to

substantial change yet always return to within the system to fight for laws that are so abstract that they don't function unless they're forced to do so by popular movements!

I recently saw Muijah Shakur speak about radical Black communities. I felt a profound admiration for the radical groups she described, those who defended self-determination, such as the *quilombos* (escaped slave communities in colonial Brazil), *capoiera* (the martial art disguised as dance created by these communities), and the continuous struggle of a people living under an oppressive regime. When we start working with reformist groups we lose a lot of our CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS because we have to always

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Valo: Hmm... I guess I don't really understand what you all are after. What I mean is that I doubt how much getting people to fight for being "defended" by laws is very worthwhile. Basically, you're working for individual concessions, which really isn't going to give dignity to a significant number of people. It's impossible to provide for the needs of everyone in a society where work only exists to make profits for property owners and bosses, therefore there always has to be a group of people who are unemployed, ready to work at a moments notice in order to push wages down, and working people have no control over what they produce. You know?

They (white, rich, heterosexual, men) are always going to have tons of us asking for work and they need it that way to guarantee their wealth, no matter how much their reforms give the appearance of a just world. There ain't no justice in begging from the rich, and I'd hate to see people think they could create equality



using the same laws that make this world into a class stratified society.

Gru: Sure I agree that affirmative action isn't going to solve all the problems of capitalism or give everyone jobs, but it's better than nothing. It does help people in the here and now. We can't just wait until after the revolution for people to be able to study and get jobs. Plus, I saw this video a couple of weeks ago of Assata Shakur speaking in Cuba. She was a Black Panther, a pretty radical person and she said the fight to save affirmative action is important to preserve the little ground that was gained for people of color during the Civil Rights Movement.

Valo: I agree that the struggle for space and freedom in whatever possible way is vital and that a lot has definitely been gained with the sweat and blood of a lot of people, but on the other hand it saddens me to realize that these type of concessions are used by governments in times of crisis to keep a revolt from

breaking out, you know what I mean? It's a subtle way of crushing a struggle. When people achieve their rights through legal means they often end up being paralyzed by the law itself, trusting in their own executioners.

Of course the struggle for our rights is important and Assata knows how much this cost just as well as Mumia, and all the people who were killed, imprisoned and exiled know. But now all that struggle has been exchanged for passivity. People have to realize that they can't trust the legal system to do anything but fuck them over. This racist government should die together with all the racists. Ya know?

Gru: Yeah I guess that's true but on the other hand it can be pretty difficult to get people to struggle around vague and abstract ideals. I mean, I think it actually is better to work as independently of the power structures that be as possible, but sometimes it's easier to get a whole bunch of people to work together around a reform issue like affirmative action. Then maybe in the process of working together they could learn collective process, which would in turn make them more likely to understand and accept an anti-authoritarian vision of things. Like in a non-anarchist union, people could get experience working together and learn how much power they have collectively even though the union leadership is only mildly progressive and probably at some level is in more with the bosses than their own fellow union members.

Valo: Vague? Abstract?

There's nothing abstract about taking a radical position on things, while I can see plenty of vague aspects to reforms. Don't you think it's a little strange that the most common and accepted forms of struggle work around hierarchies or even side by side with them, like the big government sponsored unions that are unable to make a definitive break between work and exploitation? I sure do! Reforms are very abstract in the sense that they talk of

substantial change yet always return to within the system to fight for laws that are so abstract that they don't function unless they're forced to do so by popular movements!

I recently saw Muijah Shakur speak about radical Black communities. I felt a profound admiration for the radical groups she described, those who defended self-determination, such as the *quilombos* (escaped slave communities in colonial Brazil), *capoiera* (the martial art disguised as dance created by these communities), and the continuous struggle of a people living under an oppressive regime. When we start working with reformist groups we lose a lot of our CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS because we have to always ask for settlements that we're not sure are going to come. Poor people in the Americas have been living under a colonial dictatorship for 500 years and in that time all sorts of laws have been devised, such as the law that abolished slavery in the 19th century in Brazil. But who knows the situation of Black people in Brazil? Have you ever seen your neighbor dragged out of his/her home by the police and be assassinated in the middle of a crowd of people? Have you ever seen a boy be beaten to



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UNIONS STIR FROM THE DEAD

There may finally be hopeful news to report in the "silent" capitalist campaign against working people that has been going on since the 1970s: mainstream unions *may finally* be on the march again. (*And its about time!*)

Since the 1970s, wages have been held constant, amounting to a real drop in wages once inflation is taken into account (about 1/3 since 1979 for young workers). This "silent" class war is particularly insidious because for the most part, Americans haven't been able to put their finger on what ails them.

Increasingly hostile "angry white men," and the electorate in general, take out their rage against one easy target after another: immigrants, gays, feminists, homeless persons, criminals, drug users. The real reason for growing tension, once the media camouflage is peeled away, is that the vast majority of people have to work more and more, for less and less money and security.

"Security" in the labor market, perhaps as important to workers as pay in many ways, has been destroyed. Workers must continually re-train and find new jobs as old jobs are eliminated or "downsized." Health benefits have been eliminated for millions of workers. More and more workers are now "independent contractors" or temp workers with no security at all. (The biggest US employer is now a temp firm.)

Both partners in a family have to work *hard* all the time just to keep up. Finding full time work that pays a living wage has become increasingly difficult: the number of part time and low paying jobs is way up. Although the national unemployment rate now stands at a very low 5.5 percent, these figures hardly tell the real story of people's subjective experience of an extremely harsh labor market.

The disparity between rich and poor has

also jumped: since 1979, 97 percent of the increase in household incomes went to the top 20 percent of all households. A family in the top 5 percent of all American households now earns the same amount as 16 families in the bottom 5 percent.

Unions Sound Asleep

The historical response of workers to worsening working conditions and labor markets has been to organize, yet for the past 20 years, which have seen the above changes in the labor market, there has been little or no organization. On the contrary, mainstream unions have lost millions of members. Unions now represent 14.9 percent of the workforce, down from about 1/3 in the 1950s.

The decline of mainstream unions is part of the reason for the increasingly hard labor market: no one has been around to oppose the capitalists. But mainstream unions are also at fault: they got soft, lazy, complacent, and they got in bed with the capitalists. *And they*

didn't wear condoms. Mainstream unions came to represent a closed club of privileged workers with high wages and stopped trying to organize new workers with lower wages. Established unions abandoned class struggle if they ever were involved in it in the first place.

Union organization has become concentrated in areas of the economy like manufacturing that are in decline. Mainstream unions haven't run with the evolution of the working class: more and more members of the working class are now in the service sector. And these unions never changed with the changes of the 1960s: while the workforce has become increasingly women and people of color, unions have remained predominantly white and male. Unions ignored democracy and became just another bureaucratic layer of authority over workers.

A New Voice In The Unions?

But mainstream unions may *finally* be coming

Continued on Page 12



A FEW PENNIES MORE

Much of the increasing gap between rich and poor in this society is related to the extreme decline in the wages of the poor. And some of that decline can be traced to the dramatic decline in the minimum wage over the past two decades.

The national minimum wage now stands at \$4.25 per hour. It has not been that low in inflation adjusted dollars for over 40 years! When measured in constant 1995 dollars, the minimum wage would have been \$5.65 per hour in the 1960s and \$5.74 per hour in the 1970s, according to Bureau of Labor statistics. In 1981, a family of three supported by a worker making minimum wage was above the poverty level. Now the minimum wage would have to be \$6.05 per hour for the same full *time worker* to be at the poverty level. In fact, many minimum wage earners also qualify for welfare assistance.

The 1980s marked the longest period without a minimum wage increase in American history. During that period, inflation massively reduced the wages of minimum wage workers. In 1991, Congress increased the minimum wage to the current \$4.25, which was still considerably lower, in inflation adjusted dollars, than it had been in the 1970s. Since 1991, the cost of living has gone up 13.6 percent with no increase in the minimum wage.

During late 1995, labor groups and others attempted to pass legislation in Congress to increase the national minimum wage to \$5.15 per hour. Even that meager increase was blocked by Republicans who argued that an increase in the minimum would decrease jobs for low skill workers.

America Needs a Raise

In early 1996, labor and community groups across the United States started working on state-by-state efforts to increase the minimum wage. In Connecticut, a campaign aims

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Striking newspaper workers and supporters defend their picket line from a police baton charge, Sept. 1995.

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Continued on Page 12

Chainstores Bite!

If you don't want to be ruled by mega corporations--don't give them your money. Where we decide to spend our money is a political act. Do the profits of that dollar end up with the family that owns the corner store, or does it add to the power of Safeway Inc.? Is the cookie you bought made in a kitchen in Albany or a Hostess factory? By boycotting chainstores and corporate products on principal, you participate in a more equitable distribution of wealth.

What "consumers" choose to buy is important enough for corporations to spend millions of dollars in advertising. I dream of the one big anti-advertisement ad that will convince people not to buy anything with a price inflated with the cost to advertise it. A commercial exists to convince you that you need something that you don't.

Advertising isn't the only seduction to buy corporate. Through mass production, monopolies, and labor and environmental abuses, chainstores are able to offer the cost conscious public the lowest prices. Walmart & Target search the world for products made cheap by exploited workers. And because many are just getting by they feel trapped into buying the cheapest product ultimately supporting the very forces that increase poverty & suffering. Often a better deal can be found at the flea market or the extra pennies that stay in your community may be worth the donation.

The consolidation of the economy into fewer & fewer large corporations is one of the most disturbing signs of our slipping liberties. If Blockbuster is the only video store in your neighborhood, you essentially have corporate censorship. An individual boycotting chainstores is only a small stone to toss, but a growing conscious knowledge & resistance to international monopolies is the heart of understanding the forces that oppress freedom worldwide.

Corporations have one goal--to make more profits. They act like headless monsters eating up the natural world & enslaving people to feed a blind appetite for money. It seems that we need a radical re-examination of what is of "value". Money is a mythical object that only has power because we collectively believe it does. When the value of preserving the ecosystem that sustains humans is recognized, we can abolish the significance of amassed computer numbers in the bank accounts of those who have participated in the destruction of this ecosystem. Diversity & uniqueness needs to be valued in cultures, the natural world and the



WALGREENS HARSHES MY MELLOW

As Slingshot goes to press, a new, ugly Walgreens pharmacy store is going up at the corner of 51st and Telegraph.

Walgreens Co. is the "largest and fastest growing retail prescription provider in America" according to company President L. Daniel Jorndt. As of mid 1995, Walgreens operated 2085 stores in 31 states and Puerto Rico. Since 1990, it has built or remodeled 1,305 stores. The company expects to operate 3,000 drugstores around the country by the year 2000.

That another Walgreens is going up in Oakland calls for a community response. None

Walgreens is plans to build clusters of 15 stores in Dallas, 10-15 in Las Vegas and 5 in Portland, Oregon.

Nationally Walgreens is expanding at a phenomenal rate. For fiscal year 1995, Walgreens experienced its 21st consecutive year of record sales and earnings. Net sales for the forth quarter of FY 1995 rose 12.4 percent to \$2.6 billion and for all of FY 1995, net sales were up 12.6 percent to \$10.4 billion. Walgreens filled 170 million prescriptions in 1995. It opened 206 new stores for the fiscal year. And, Walgreens plans to build 215 new stores in fiscal 1996.

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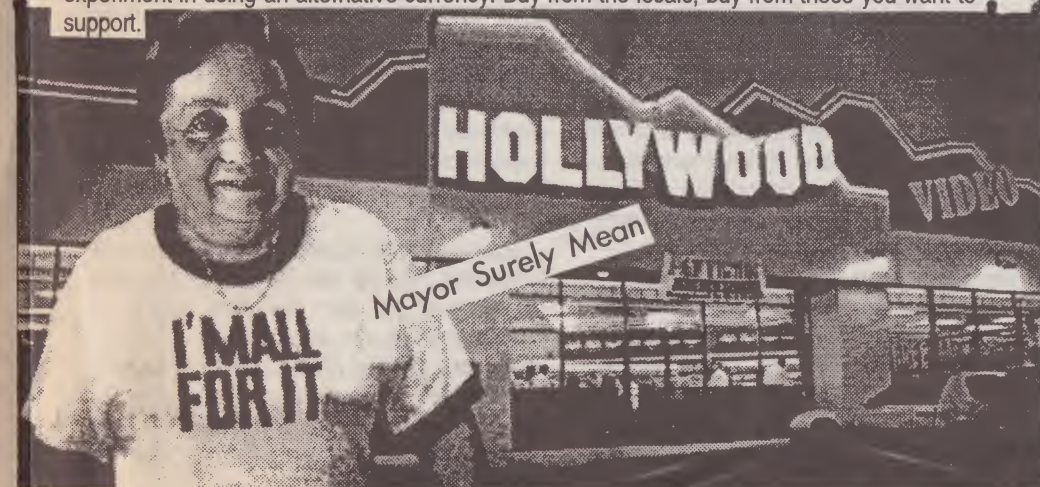
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In the mean time, find ways to avoid participating in the corporate money system. Re-use, barter, steal, share. Set up alternative economies. Ithaca NY has a successful experiment in using an alternative currency. Buy from the locals, buy from those you want to support.



'I've never seen a chainstore I didn't like'



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That another Walgreens is going up in Oakland calls for a community response. None is likely. Although protests against Walmart stores, which have also been expanding rapidly across the country, are common, only one protest movement was reported in major United States newspapers against the construction of a Walgreens store. That was in Chicago and was mostly focused on saving a historic post office which was to be torn down to make way for Walgreens. Chicago residents saved the post office, but Walgreens just located elsewhere. No one appears to be focusing on the root of the problem with Walgreens: the corporatization of America.

Over the past 3 or 4 years, Walgreens has put in new stores in downtown Berkeley, downtown Oakland, by Ashkenaz on San Pablo, at the corner of San Pablo and Ashby, and at 34th and Telegraph. This matches the national pattern in which Walgreens targets a community and then locates a cluster of stores in the area to benefit from economies of scale and efficiencies of distribution. For 1996,

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The Walgreens at 51st and Telegraph typifies many of the problems with Walgreens and chainstores in general. The store is locating in a moderately economically depressed area. Within a few blocks of the site, at least half a dozen storefronts are vacant. Yet the developers are putting Walgreens in a brand new building with huge parking lots surrounding it.

The architecture itself is atrocious. Another concrete, cinder block, windowless box. Cheaply built-only designed to last a generation or as long as Federal income tax depreciation rules makes it economically profitable. Many of the other buildings in the neighborhood, dating from when the Temescal area of Oakland was a vibrant Italian enclave,

'Continued on Page 12'

Could the US Be Feeling Insecure?

Churlish, right-wing, Miami cabal enforce
Double Standard on Cuba

On August fifth of last year I was one of half a million participants in a mass march and protest against American foreign policy only ninety miles off the coast of Florida.

Why didn't anyone here hear about it?

A month and a half later I came across a two-paragraph blurb in the back of the *San Francisco Chronicle* announcing that the House of Representatives had just passed a bill by nearly 3-to-1 which would strengthen the already asphyxiating economic blockade of a small Caribbean country of twelve million people.

How could we be doing this?

The answer to both of these questions is one word—Socialism—and the country falling victim to the U.S.'s intense hatred of that word is Cuba.

Cuba has been a Socialist country for 36 years and not once has the U.S. eased, or even considered easing up its oppressive, imperialistic stranglehold on the economy of Cuba. Not even in 1990 when the Soviet Union disbanded and Capitalism was aglow with the so-called "victory" of the Cold War. So often George Bush declared from his pulpit the end of the "Socialist threat" while at the same time plans were in the works by his administration to crush Cuba by any means necessary.

Neither has our policy loosened with regards to Cuba since the passage of NAFTA and GATT and the lifting of trade bans on countries like Vietnam or China, whose new quasi-capitalist approach has gained it "most favored nation" status. Our consideration of human rights violations have been thrown out the window in the current free—for all for international companies and traders, yet still, Cuba remains locked out of the bargaining process.

The only thing that we can logically glean from what amounts to an unarguably unfair

consistently undertaken experiments in social policy that the United States claims are impossible. My stay in Cuba, for example, included four days painting a new wing of a hospital in a rural province of Western Cuba. At the same time as I was readying these walls for use, the board of supervisors in Los Angeles was sitting around a table deciding to close down L.A. County General Hospital. Even since the "special period" began in Cuba with the fall of its Socialist trading partners, they have not closed down one hospital or medical clinic and they have maintained free service for almost all medical procedures.

Similarly education is free in Cuba, public transportation is near free, and minimum requirements of food and other goods are rationed out to everyone regardless of arbitrary "qualifications."

But the purpose of my article is not to espouse the intrinsic value of the Cuban system. It is after all still a Statist nation with all the problems of authority and bureaucracy that come with a non-locally controlled society. Rather I am writing to condemn the concerted effort of the American government and its media tools to slander and ultimately destroy anything that poses an alternative to the current way of doing things. I want to be able to come back to Miami the day after half a million people march in Havana against the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba and read about it instead of about some guy who drowned trying to throw bottles with the American Bill of Rights in them into Cuban waters. Similarly, I want Cuban and American scientists, teachers and doctors to be able to share information as colleagues instead of enemies. Most importantly, though, I want the Cuban people to be able to decide their own destiny without having to worry about where they will get their rice or condoms or medicine because the United States won't let them

Until a few weeks ago, relations between the governments of Cuba and the United States were gradually improving. It had become possible to imagine the existence of an unembargoed Cuba during Castro's lifetime. Bilateral agreements had been made on immigration issues, restrictions on travel and money transfers to Cuba by Cuban-American families had been lifted, US Customs was not enforcing laws prohibiting American citizens from traveling to and from Cuba, Kennedy kin were meeting with Castro to discuss environmental issues, US business interests were trampling one another to meet with Castro, cultural and religious exchanges were becoming commonplace, and the repressive Helms-Burton legislation was in limbo and likely to stay there.

During this blossoming romance, however, a sinister former suitor, the churlish right-wing Cuban-American cabal in south Florida and their Congressional lackeys, were becoming frantic with rage and despair. For almost four decades they had succeeded in keeping US and Cuba relations tense and embittered.

It was beginning to look as if they had squandered a lifetime of failed plots and political payoffs, and that many of them would soon lose their good paying jobs at the local "united to overthrow Castro" non-profit organization or fail to have their campaign coffers filled with Miami payola.

repeated requests to the US seeking government intervention in preventing these incursions. Cuba had also warned the US that they would not tolerate continued violations. The US began an investigation of the overflights, but never sought to prevent them. US inaction was intended to avoid a showdown with the Miami Cubans and thus led to the unfortunate confrontation over the Straits of Florida.

Contrast the lack of a credible US response to Brothers blatant disregard of international law with actions taken by the US against a truly humanitarian organization called Pastors for Peace.

On January 31 and again on February 17, Pastors for Peace and their supporters tried to take 350 rehabilitated computers to Cuba via Mexico. The computers were intended to expand a UN supported project that would network Cuban medical personnel throughout the island and give them access to medical information and journals that are currently embargoed.

The US government turned out in force on both dates, closing the US-Mexico border for hours. Customs police, the California Highway Patrol, the FBI, the San Diego police, and swarms of plain clothes types confiscated the equipment and jailed a dozen people who tried to walk peacefully across the border with the computers in hand. Federal charges (including



Not only has Cuba rejected the typical mode of development that other Latin American countries have been forced to take but it has

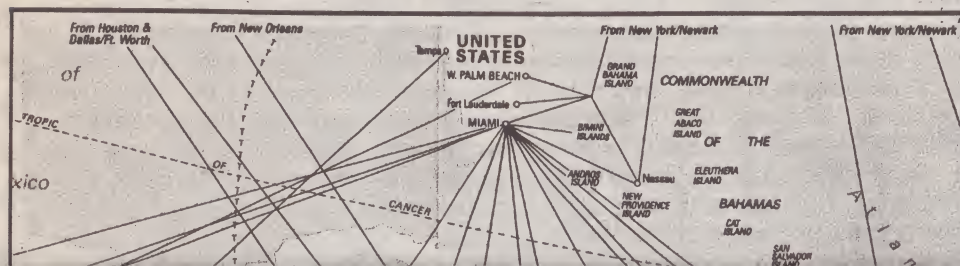
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They have also developed a political influence in Florida and nationally that extends far beyond the paltry votes that they bring to local, State, and federal elections. The Miami Cubans and their pals are still stewing about having their plantations and casinos seized and have managed to indoctrinate many of their children with the same

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physical threat mind you—whatever it is that dissolved with the Soviet Union—but rather an ideological threat. Cuba represents a Latin American country that has survived, in some ways thrived, without the characteristic dependence and submission to the American Capitalist system and that, more than any bomb, comprises a threat. Whether we proclaim it openly as Teddy Roosevelt did in the beginning of this century, or only refer to it behind closed corporate headquarter doors, our country prides itself on the domination of all of the Americas and Cuba stands out like a black sheep in the herd.

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downpour of rain that I had ever experienced. Yet unlike so many protests I have been to here in the states, the rain didn't diminish the crowd. Everyone kept marching only now dripping and dancing as well. It is because of scenes like that that I have faith in the Cuban people; not the government or their leaders or their institutions, but them. Many of the people on the march of that day had problems with the way Castro was running things, or with the way food or clothing was being distributed, but they were still revolutionaries and they were still united in their fight for their own self-determination. The least our country can do is to allow them the right to control their own lives.

--Adam G

old American style Democracy. It's the kiss of death.

Let us not forget who these Cubans are. They are the members of the old ruling elite who fled Cuba with their ill gotten millions when their despicable chum and US ally, Fulgencio Batista, was routed by Castro and his rag-tag army in 1959. They led the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, dropped incendiary bombs on Cuban sugar fields, blew up a Cuban airliner in 1976 that killed 80 (and gave sanctuary to the man convicted of the bombing by a Venezuelan Court), encouraged their fellow Cubans to flee Cuba through shark infested waters at great loss of life, and have financed their activities by exploiting the emotions and pocketbooks of their fellow emigres.

They have also developed a political influence in Florida and nationally that extends far beyond the paltry votes that they bring to local, State, and federal elections. The Miami Cubans and their pals are still stewing about having their plantations and casinos seized and have managed to indoctrinate many of their children and grandchildren with the same venom that fuels their own collective fatwah against Castro. This evolving thaw in US-Cuba relations called for immediate counter-action if their dreams of ruling the homeland were to be realized. It wasn't long before they engineered the provocation that shattered the fragile peace.

On February 24, Cuba shot down two "civilian" aircraft piloted by self-acknowledged mercenaries bringing to an end the gradual normalization of relations between Cuba and the US. The destruction of these planes and the loss of four lives were anticipated and avoidable.

The pilots, led by Bay of Pigs veteran, ex-CIA employee, and Ollie North consort, Jose Basulto, belonged to the "humanitarian" organization called Brothers to the Rescue. Since July 1995, Brothers to the Rescue had repeatedly and intentionally violated Cuban airspace and had dropped leaflets over Havana in January 1996 encouraging Cubans to overthrow their government. Cuba sent

assault on an officer) are now pending against those taken into custody.

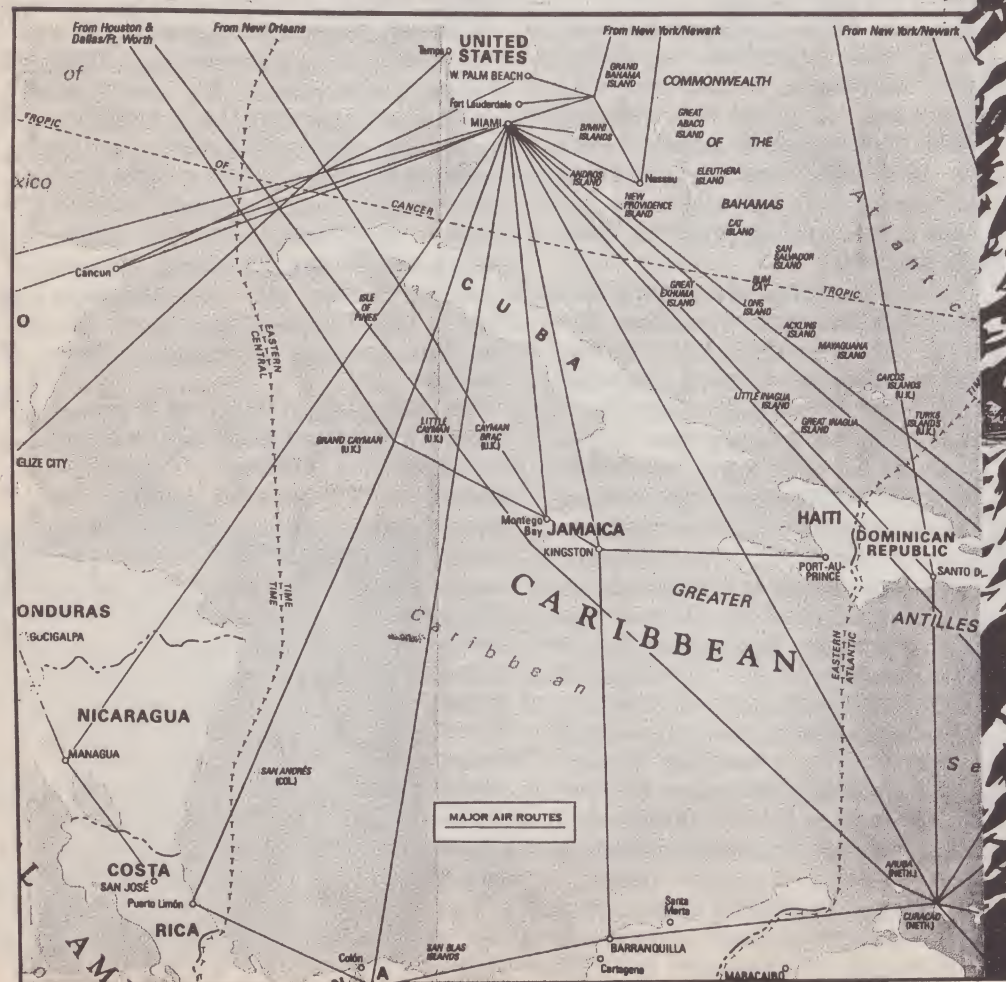
Pastors for Peace's response to this topsy-turvy expression of American policy has been to initiate a hunger strike that seeks the release of the computers. Their action at the San Ysidro border crossing began on February 21. Since then, the US Government has responded to this peaceful effort by issuing a Justice Department subpoena that requires Pastors for Peace to appear before a federal grand jury to answer questions about two earlier shipments of humanitarian aid to Cuba and by breaking into a San Diego warehouse in the middle of the night to seize computer equipment belonging to Pastors for Peace.

Evil forces may have won a round in this farce. Clinton has now signed the Helms-Burton bill which codifies the embargo into US law and gives the Congress ultimate authority over US foreign policy in our relations with Cuba. The enactment of this law will incite the Miami mob to continue its efforts to prod and provoke Cuba. Ultimately, the goal of the Miami mob is to reoccupy Cuba.

Cuba knows what will happen if they are successful. The recent history of Nicaragua and the influence of the returning Somocistas is a perfect example of how quickly impoverishment and despair can be imposed on a people once the former ruling class returns. It's no wonder that Cuba has bucked the worldwide trend to embrace family-friendly Capitalism packaged as good old American style Democracy. It's the kiss of death.

—Thomas G. Kelly

Questions or comments (or offers of computers that we will find a way to get to Cuba) can be sent to Tom Kelly at: jandtkelly@igc.apc.org. Check out the conference entitled REG.CUBA on PeaceNet or Pastors for Peace web site at <http://www.igc.apc.org/cubasoli/> for the most recent information on Cuba and the Pastor's hunger strike.



Update on the second anniversary of the EZLN uprising

It's difficult to estimate the total number of people at this celebration, especially since so many were anonymously wearing ski masks or paliacates. I do know that over 250 people, Mexicans from elsewhere and foreigners, had been accredited. I personally met people from Ireland, Norway, England, Canada, Italy, Spain, other parts of the United States, and other parts of Mexico, mostly Mexico City.

People traveled thousands of miles by plane or from a neighboring village on foot all for the same reason - to celebrate the second anniversary of the Zapatista uprising launched on Jan. 1, 1994. And indeed celebrate they did. For days before New Years Eve, celebrants danced in the mud to the sounds of traditional Mexican folk music and to the electric guitar riffs of Mexico City rockers.

With such a "party atmosphere" it was sometimes easy to forget that nearby, within easy walking distance, lurked members of the Mexican armed forces. In fact, just prior to the commencement of these celebrations, while the Centers of Resistance were being built in Oventic and in the three other locations, the army had conducted numerous daily patrols as a form of intimidation and surveillance. The ground patrols were supplemented by helicopter and plane over-head flights. This was all occurring while the government supposedly was in a process of peace dialogs with the EZLN.

The orgasmic culmination of these days of revelry in the mud was touched off when the clock struck midnight on Dec. 31. Facing a squadron of overly eager press photographers, Commandante Ana Maria read a long treatise signed by Subcommandante Marcos entitled "The Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle." While she read, a wind storm, that farther north had brought snow, ripped through the entire community threatening to blow the tarp roof off the stage. Paliacate masked men worked feverishly to maintain the integrity of the structure. Despite this distraction the mass of



delegations to the conflict zone. People from the three groups informally met one evening to share information and have a general discussion about our role in Mexico as political activists in the United States.

The last night of the Global Exchange delegation was the first night of the Indigenous Forum in San Cristobal, that took place from Jan. 3 to Jan. 8. At the invitation of the EZLN, representatives of indigenous groups from all over Mexico, as well as government officials, held a series of talks or tables, where they sought to hammer out some of the language to be incorporated in the broader peace dialogs. Issues relating to, for example, indigenous autonomy, women, and land were slated for discussion.

My conclusions from the visit and other research I did in Mexico during my stay are as follows:

- The Zapatistas are not as significant in 1996 as they were in 1994. However they still are important and they have moved forward.
- The Zapatistas have been surrounded by the army and their territory is now completely covered by government land and air forces.
- U.S. military assistance to Mexico has increased in the last years, but it is not only directed to Chiapas.
- Other areas of the country, other struggles, warrant attention. All attention should not be solely directed toward Chiapas.
- Guerrilla groups have been clearly identified in Oaxaca and Guerrero. There is likely guerrilla activity in other states in the south.
- Oil and PEMEX and the CIA and national security (i.e. business) interests of the United

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EAST TIMOR GENOCIDE

I did not meet one Timorese person who hadn't had a relative who had been tortured or killed whilst under Indonesian occupation. Australian nurse Simon De Faux testifying before the UN Decolonization Committee, July 1995

It has never been worse here. No one can speak. No one can demonstrate. People disappear. East Timor is an island of total fear and terror. We as k the world to understand this nad never forget that we are here, struggling for life everyday. Bishop Carlos Belo, 1994

On December 7, 1975 Indonesia, in collaboration with the U.S. invaded the newly independent nation of East Timor (formerly a Portuguese colony). During the following 20 years Indonesia's military has been responsible for one of the worst genocidal tragedies in modern history, while the U.S. has provided the weapons, financial aid and diplomatic support in aid of this atrocity. The invasion happened because the example of a free and independent East Timor on Indonesia's border might set an example to the rest of Indonesia's severely repressed population, which could have threaten stability for U.S./Indonesian business interests. Though a quick conquest of East Timor was expected the Timorese have resisted the Indonesian occupation for over 20 years. Over that 20 years the Indonesian military has:

- Killed 200,000 Timorese through warfare, enforced starvation, and war-induced disease. This amounts to one-third of the population, the greatest genocide relative to population since the holocaust.

- Regularly massacred unarmed civilians and demonstrators, including the deliberate massacre of peaceful demonstrators on November 12, 1991, and committed widespread and systematic human rights violations.

- Raped untold thousands of women, including young girls.

- Practiced torture as policy.

- Created an oppressive society based on terror and intimidation.

- Outlawed the Timorese languages and public displays of traditional culture.

completely monopolized the economy of East Timor and stolen its oil and other natural resources.

- Repeatedly attacked and oppressed the Catholic Church of East Timor, beating priests, harassing nuns, and on several occasions attempting to assassinate the Bishop of East Timor.

- Moved tens of thousands of Javanese to Timor and instituted a program of involuntary sterilization and forced use of Depo Provera in an attempt to make Timorese a minority in their own land.

The U.S. has a long bloody history with Indonesia including billions of dollars in military and economic support. The U.S. aided the 1965 Indonesian military counter-coup that brought the dictator, General Suharto, to power who then ordered the mass slaughter of between 1/2 million to 1 million alleged communists. Suharto remains in power today as a close ally of Western business interests.

In 1990 an Indonesian army intelligence official confirmed that 200,000 Timorese had been killed under the Suharto regime's occupation. This genocidal campaign was largely ignored by the Western press until a 1991 massacre was observed and filmed by Western journalists. Indonesian soldiers, using US-supplied M-16's, killed more than 270 unarmed demonstrators. Because of international attention from the '91 massacre and efforts of East Timor activists military training support (known as IMET funds) was temporarily cut off. However U.S. weapons manufacturers continued to profit from sales to Indonesia until 1994 when a "small and light arms" weapons ban was passed in Congress. Since then Indonesia has pursued arms from other countries like Germany, France, and England. Economic and military aid still exists but activists such as East Timor Action Network (ETAN) are working against it.

Commencement of these celebrations... Centers of Resistance were being built in Oventic and in the three other locations, the army had conducted numerous daily patrols as a form of intimidation and surveillance. The ground patrols were supplemented by helicopter and plane over-head flights. This was all occurring while the government supposedly was in a process of peace dialogs with the EZLN.

The orgasmic culmination of these days of revelry in the mud was touched off when the clock struck midnight on Dec. 31. Facing a squadron of overly eager press photographers, Commandante Ana Maria read a long treatise signed by Subcommandante Marcos entitled "The Fourth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle." While she read, a wind storm, that farther north had brought snow, ripped through the entire community threatening to blow the tarp roof off the stage. Paliacate masked men worked feverishly to maintain the integrity of the structure. Despite this distraction the mass of indigenous men and women, children and old folks, Mexicans and foreigners, all stood undaunted and at attention, listening to the words that describe the new direction that the Zapatistas say they will take - the formation of the FZLN, the Frente, a new political front.

In Chiapas and in San Cristobal during this time were representatives from the National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, an El Paso-based national coalition of Zapatista solidarity groups, and Pastors for Peace, a group that consistently sends peace

of the language to be incorporated in the broader peace dialogs. Issues relating to, for example, indigenous autonomy, women, and land were slated for discussion.

My conclusions from the visit and other research I did in Mexico during my stay are as follows:

- The Zapatistas are not as significant in 1996 as they were in 1994. However they still are important and they have moved forward.
- The Zapatistas have been surrounded by the army and their territory is now completely covered by government land and air forces.
- U.S. military assistance to Mexico has increased in the last years, but it is not only directed to Chiapas.
- Other areas of the country, other struggles, warrant attention. All attention should not be solely directed toward Chiapas.
- Guerrilla groups have been clearly identified in Oaxaca and Guerrero. There is likely guerrilla activity in other states in the south.
- Oil and PEMEX and the CIA and national security (i.e. business) interests of the United States are interwoven into this conflict.
- The military assistance to Mexico from the United States needs to be viewed within the context of U.S. goals of hegemony over all the Americas.
- U.S. military integration with Mexico is the third form of integration after political and economic integration (NAFTA).
- U.S. telecommunications and computer technologies are essential tools in the overall neocolonial subjugation of Mexico by the United States.

--Stefan Wray

(Stefan Wray is a graduate student at the University of Texas at Austin in a joint program combining journalism and Latin American studies. He is currently researching the U.S. military and intelligence applications of telecommunications and computer technologies currently in use in Mexico.)



Shell Oil: Bleeding the Life Out of Ogoniland

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The San Francisco ETAN chapter can be reached at:

PO Box 420832, SF, 94142 (415)285-1971 gknehans@sfsu.edu



To counter the problems caused by the Royal Dutch Shell Company, as well as build solidarity for human rights, Ken Saro-Wiwa, an Ogoniland activist, founded, in 1990, the



Movement for Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). MOSOP began a campaign in Ogoni to clean up oil spills, work to gain financial compensation for ecological damages, build civil rights unity, and begin working to clean up the air which is constantly poisoned by gas flaring.

In December 1992, MOSOP began making reasonable environmental compensation demands. At Saro-Wiwa's request, the movement demanded \$10 billion dollars to pay for environmental damages and to help clean up oil spills. Shell Oil, of course, declined to pay. However, following recent pressure, Shell Oil has set up a commission, at \$4.5 million dollars in cost, which is supposed to be used to assess

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Shell Oil: Bleeding the Life Out of Ogoniland

Shell Oil has had a history of exploitation and carelessness toward oppressed people and their land. Major boycotts against Shell have been urged in the past; one of the biggest being the boycott against Shell because of their support of South African Apartheid. The history of unacceptable business behavior by the Royal Dutch Shell Company (Shell Oil), then, is remembered by many concerned people. However, behind the scenes Shell Oil has been more careless than many people are aware of. Recently, Shell's carelessness was revealed, though, when the company financed the murder of Ogoniland environmentalist and human rights advocate, Ken Saro-Wiwa. In 1958 Shell Oil first struck oil on Ogoni lands in southeastern Nigeria in Africa. At this time in Nigeria the land of the Ogoni people was clean and provided a healthy source of food and water. To this day Ogoni people still depend on many of their natural resources. The land and

fish which the 500,000 Ogoni people survive off of is now in turmoil, however, and Shell Oil is to blame. Much of the Ogoni farming land has become sour due to large oil spills and leaks, and the water which they fish from is also polluted by oil. Many Ogoni crops have been destroyed by Shell Oil, and some parts of the land have giant oil patches half a mile in diameter.

Throughout the years in which Shell Oil has profited off of the oil of Nigeria enormous revenue has been generated for the company, yet the workers and people of Ogoni have only felt the exploitation inherent in these profits. According to one analyst, "Shell's profits from Ogoni oil gross about \$170 to \$190 million dollars annually. A figure that accounts for approximately 10% of total exploration and production profits." (*New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1996). These profits are grossly maldistributed, and the damaged land and suffering people of Ogoni see none of it.



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The real actions which Shell Oil is engaging in and financing are the actions to stop the environmental movement which is being promulgated by MOSOP. Shell's actions, in fact, are murderous, and the recent killing of MOSOP founder, Ken Saro-Wiwa, brought this reality to light.

In November 1995, Shell Oil hired the Nigerian mobile police to stop, by any means necessary, the MOSOP protesters. The mobile police, known for their excessive violence - even fatal practice, engaged in violent conflict with Ogoni environmentalists, human rights activists, and MOSOP supporters. The mobile police had orders to begin "wasting operations and wasting Ogoni leaders who are especially

Continued on Page 13

Free Radio Stations across the continent

Free Radio Berkeley 104.1 FM (FRB) is not a lone voice of reason, freedom and truth in an enormous sea of bullshit and lies. Indeed, FRB has many friends and the Free Radio network is growing by leaps and bounds. There are at least 8 stations in the greater Bay Area alone, and the number is increasing. There may be as many as 30 in the state of California alone, and maybe 500 or more world-wide. Micro powered, unlicensed stations are currently broadcasting in Chiapas, Mexico; El Salvador, and Haiti using equipment assembled in FRB founder Stephen Dunifer's Lab. To set up a micro-power station of your own, contact Free Radio Berkeley 104.1 FM by mail, e-mail, or voice mail.

• Free Radio Berkeley 104.1 FM - Berkeley / Oakland / Emeryville / Albany

24 hours a day, 7 days a week
Mailing Address: 1442-A Walnut St, #406, Berkeley, CA 94709
Live Studio Line: (510) 655-7146
Voice Mail: (510) 464-3041
e-mail: frbspd@crl.com

Broadcasting in the Bay Area:

• **Que Pasa? (KPSA) 89.7 FM - San Rafael**
Afternoons & Evenings, mostly in Spanish (times may vary from day to day).

• **Free Radio in American Canyon 90.7 FM - American Canyon (just north of Vallejo, CA)**
Already broadcasting, times unconfirmed -

• **San Francisco Liberation Radio 93.7 FM - West San Francisco / Northwest Daly City**
Afternoons, evenings & nights (usually 5:00 PM - 5:00 AM; varies from day to day).
Mailing Address: 750 La Playa, #852, San Francisco, CA 94121

Live Studio Line: (415) 750-1714
Contact: (415) 386-3135

• **San Jose Free Radio 93.7 FM - E. San Jose**
Broadcasting 24 hours a day, 7 days a week

Broadcasting in Central and Southern California:

• **Excellent Radio 88.3 FM - Grover Beach, CA.**
Has been broadcasting for nearly 1 year.

• **Free Radio in Pacific Grove, CA 89.3 FM - near Monterey, CA**
Already broadcasting, times unconfirmed.

• **Free Radio Watson 96.1 FM - Morgan Hill & Watsonville, CA.**
Broadcasts 24 hours a day, 7 days a week in Spanish - contact: TBA.

• **Free Radio Santa Cruz 96.3 FM**
24 hours a day, 7 days a week
Address: PO Box 7652, Santa Cruz, CA
Studio Line: (408) 427-FRSC.

• **Free Radio in Hollister - 104.1 FM**
Broadcasts 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

• **Radio Zapatista 106.7 FM - Salinas, CA.**
Broadcasts 24 hours a day, 7 days a week in Spanish - contact: TBA.

Additionally, there may soon (or already) be stations broadcasting in Fresno, Bakersfield, south-central Los Angeles, east Los Angeles, San Bernadino, Long Beach, San Diego, and Santa Barbara.

Broadcasting in Northern California and Southern Oregon

• **Free Radio Redwood Valley (KBUD) 88.1 FM**
Mailing Address: 9475 Laughlin Way, Redwood Valley, CA 95470
Contact: (707) 485-0487

• **Free Arcata Radio 89.7 FM - Central Arcata**
Wed - Sun, usually 4:00 PM - Midnight
Address: PO Box 4806, Arcata, CA 95518
Voice Mail: (707) 269-0393

• **Free Radio Williams 107.1 FM - Williams, OR**
Address: PO Box 356, Williams, OR 97544

There may soon (or already) be stations broadcasting from Sacramento, Mendocino, Ukiah, and Willits in California, and Takilma

Park Community block

People's Park, the international liberated zone located in the Berkeley Southside, has been successfully defended by its supporters against another round of construction and gentrification. Through non-violent protest, coalition building, lobbying, and relentless attendance at public meetings, the City and University were persuaded to back down from removing free food and clothing, reconstructing the lawn for sports, and instituting total University control.

People's Park was founded in 1969 on vacant land abandoned by the University of California. The University responded by attacking the Park, causing massive rioting. Since then, every few years, the University has tested the resolve of the users and defenders of People's Park, seeking to destroy the Park and eliminate the entrenched population of homeless people, anarchists, hippies, punx and other dissidents and non-conformists in the Southside area.

The last time this happened was in 1991. The University and the City government signed a joint operating agreement called "The Lease." When construction in the Park began as "The Lease" commanded, massive rioting erupted again. As the 1996 expiration of "The Lease" approached, many feared the authorities would start another confrontation.

SPORTS!

In 1991, the University, while deferring to the liberal City government's desire to retain Peoples' Park as a nostalgic 60s monument, devised a two-pronged strategy for eliminating the Park as a living center of radical leftist resistance: getting rid of the old people and bringing in new people. To



achieve the first objective, police harassment of the street community from both the City and University departments intensified from 1990-1991. To achieve the second objective, the university launched plans to construct sports facilities that would be primarily used by wealthy, white students.

As a result of the great civil disturbance and

Free Radio Berkeley vs. The U.S.

Continued From Page 1

of whether the FCC has served the public interest are material.

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- **San Jose Free Radio 93.7 FM - E. San Jose**
Broadcasting 24 hours a day, 7 days a week
- **San Leandro Under Ground (SLUG) 93.7 FM - San Leandro & San Lorenzo**
Will begin broadcasting soon - 24 hours a day, 7 days a week - contact: TBA.
- **Radio Illegal 99.3 FM - South UC Berkeley Campus area.**
Afternoons, evenings & nights (usually 5:00



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Studio Line: (408) 427-FRSC.

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There may soon (or already) be stations broadcasting from Sacramento, Mendocino, Ukiah, and Willits in California, and Takilma, Grants Pass, Ashland, Medford, Eugene, and Portland in Oregon.

And Elsewhere

• **Arizona Free Radio (KAJR) 92.7 FM - Phoenix, Arizona**

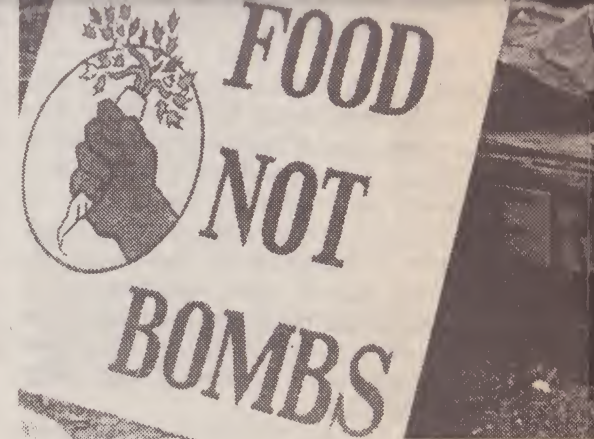
Address: POB 47473, Phoenix, AZ 85068

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As a result of the great civil disturbance and

Free Radio Berkeley vs. The U.S.

Continued From Page 1

allowed when there are no disputed facts.

In their summary judgment motion, the FCC argues that the only *material* facts they must prove to get an injunction are that: (1) Free Radio Berkeley is broadcasting; and (2) it has no license.

Next, the FCC argues that as a matter of law they must prevail. Their primary argument is *procedural* not substantive. The FCC argues the Court is without jurisdiction to consider any constitutional arguments because a district court can only hear constitutional challenges to *statutes*, and the Court of Appeals has exclusive jurisdiction to consider constitutional challenges to regulations. (In this case, FRB originally challenged the constitutionality of the regulations that forbid licensing of stations with less than 100 watts.) The FCC therefore argues that FRB cannot use constitutional arguments as a defense--that those arguments can only be considered on appeal.

FRB asserts that more facts are material to this dispute than the narrow facts mentioned by the FCC. For instance, FRB notes that questions

of whether the FCC has served the public interest are material.

Additionally, FRB argues that a previous case involving the FCC vs. micro power radio, *Dougan v. FCC*, held that the *district court* had exclusive jurisdiction to decide the constitutional issues raised. Further, FRB argues that they have raised constitutional challenges to *statutes* in addition to regulations and that the Court has jurisdiction to consider the statutory challenges even under the FCC's argument.

The FCC apparently seeks an injunction not just against Dunifer (the defendant in the lawsuit and a member of the FRB collective) and FRB, but also against other stations started with assistance from FRB. The FCC's recent reply brief was the first FCC brief to mention other stations aside from FRB. (It discussed Free Radio Santa Cruz and Arcata Free Radio.) They implied that these other stations were "operated" by "defendant" Dunifer and were associated with FRB. A broad injunction against stations beyond FRB would be a serious denial of due process since none of these stations have been represented by counsel in the current lawsuit.

104.1 FM

Free Radio Berkeley
Weekly Schedule

- 7 days a week - contact: TBA.
- **Radio Illegal 99.3 FM** - South UC Berkeley Campus area.
- Afternoons, evenings & nights (usually 5:00



PM - Midnight)

Live Studio Line: (510) 540-7065

- **Radio Libre 103.3 FM** - South and Central San Francisco / Mission District

Times vary; usually afternoons, evenings & nights. / English & Spanish

Address: PO Box 411343, SF, CA 94141

Live Studio Line: (415) 641-0311

- **Free Radio in Mountain View, 104.1 FM** - Mountain View, CA

Will begin broadcasting soon - 24 hours a day, 7 days a week - contact: TBA.

- **Radio Rebelde 107.3 FM** - South and Central San Francisco / Mission District.

Will broadcast soon in English & Spanish.

In addition, there may soon be at least 2 stations in Oakland (one broadcasting from south-west Oakland and one broadcasting from the Fruitvale area), 2 or more stations in Richmond, an additional station in San Francisco, an additional station in San Jose (probably west San Jose) and a station in Foster City (near San Mateo).

And Elsewhere

- **Arizona Free Radio (KAJR) 92.7 FM** Phoenix, Arizona
- Address: POB 47473, Phoenix, AZ 85068

Contact: (602) 548-1054

- **The Bomb 90.1 FM** - Miami
- **The Flava 91.1 FM** - Miami
- **Lower East Side, New York 88.7 FM**
- **African Liberation Radio 107.1 FM** - Springfield, Illinois

24 hours a day, 7 days a week - where it all began.

Contact: 333 N. 12th Street, Springfield, IL 62707

- **Monkeywrench Radio ??? FM** - Seattle, WA (started by Pearl Jam, believe it or not).
- Mailing Address: 323 Broadway Ave. East, Seattle, WA 98102

And, many, many more....

--Compiled by the Internal eXile
(with the help of many friends)



Photo: Free Radio Berkeley's Broadcast Studio in action run by volunteer DJs.

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104.1 FM Free Radio Berkeley Weekly Schedule

MONDAY

MIDNIGHT - 2 AM
NIGHT SKUL w/ DR. YUU
Unprogrammed weirdness, rock mayhem, and psychedelia.

2 - 6 AM
REBEL PIRATE DJ
6 - 9 AM
MUSIC w/o BOUNDARIES
international music with a message.

9 - 10 AM
REVOLUTION HOUR
More music, poetry & comment

10 - 11 AM
AGENT O
Spoken word.

11 AM - NOON
GENE'S THEMES
NOON - 3 PM
SAOIRSE GITANO RADIO
Latin & Irish folk music, plus news and updates from the IWW.

3 - 5 PM
MUSIC FOR A DYING AGE
An apocalyptic rollercoaster of sound exploding in your ears!

5 - 6 PM
STREET SPIRIT
By, about and for houseless people

6 - 7 PM
THE BLACK EYE
An eye on the mainstream media.

7 - 9 PM
DEAD HEAD RADIO
9 PM - MIDNIGHT
THE GREEN FAIRY or PRISON ACTIVISM and IC CLEARLY

*Indicates a former KPFA DJ / programmer.

TUESDAY

MIDNIGHT - 3 AM
THE EVENT HORIZON
3 - 6 AM
THE JACK OFF SHOW
A whole lotta shakin' goin' on.

6 - 8:30 AM
HEAVEN & HELL
Sick & twisted humor with Bob Tinkelman, Pimp Keeper, Captain 40 OZ, and the whole crew. Be afraid. Be very afraid.

8:30 - 10:30 AM
EARTH FIRST!
Action information and updates; dancing on the ruins of multinational corporations.

10:30 AM - 1 PM
RADIO REBELDE
World Music with Chris Clarke

1 - 2:30 PM
THE UNDERGROUND RR
Music, announcements, & open discussion with Lee K - call in!

2:30 - 4 PM
ROSEMARY & PEOPLE
Talk and political updates, plus weirdness and inter-species sex.

4 - 5:30 PM
BAY

5:30 - 6:30 PM
RADICAL NEWS HOUR
6:30 - 9 PM
1st AMENDMENT SHOW
With the Illegal Alien. Reporting the growing attack against the poor and middle class. Political music. Justice for all political prisoners!

9 PM - MIDNIGHT
DASTARDLY DEE or THE TOY SHOW

WEDNESDAY

MIDNIGHT - 2:30 AM
THE SPACE PLATFORM
Experimental reality

2:30 - 6 AM
THE NIGHT FLIGHT
6 - 7 AM
HUMANIST HOUR
7 - 8 AM
POEMS & SPOKEN WORD
8 - 9 AM
REFUSE & RESIST!
9 AM - 10 AM
LABOR & THE LEFT*
Critique of the Left from Labor's perspective with Ken Ellis.

10 AM - NOON
SISTER MAKINYA*
NOON - 3 PM
JUDY F'S MIXED BAG or JENNIFER STONE*
3 - 5:30 PM
GOOFY GIRLZ
5:30 - 6:30 PM
RADICAL NEWS HOUR
6:30 - 8:30 PM
SISTERS OF HYSTERIA
Women's music and womens issues.

8:30 - 9:30 PM
COPWATCH REPORT
9:30 - MIDNIGHT
REBEL VOICES
Radical Labor & Ecology

Free Radio Berkeley Meetings
1 PM - 2nd Sunday & 4th Saturday
3124 Shattuck Ave. (Long Haul/ Info Shop). Community participation encouraged.

THURSDAY

MIDNIGHT - 6 AM
DJ WHAT'S HIS FACE
6 - 8 AM
PM DAWN / ELVIS
8 - 10 AM
DIA / NO NAME & CTWO
Joining forces counteract and resist the policies of racism, sexism, and homophobia.

10 AM - NOON
LIFE WITH LONEWOLF
NOON - 2 PM
VOMIT, NOISE & MAYHEM
2 - 4 PM
CARRIE'S PLACE or HEGBARD SALINE
4 - 5:30 PM
THE COMMUNITY SPACE
Shared by the Ecology Center, the Free Clinic, Aaron's Rants, and Cypherpunk Radio.

5:30 - 6:30 PM
RADICAL NEWS HOUR
6:30 - 9 PM
FIVE CENT PUNK
9 - 10 PM
BILL MANDEL*
10 PM - MIDNIGHT
THE RADMAN
Endless call in rants and politics; anarchist critiques of the liberal "left" and "libertarian" right.

FRIDAY

MIDNIGHT - 3 AM
THE BLACK HAT
Spoken word, reaching (or not) with one foot in hell.

3 - 6 AM
SPEAKER23
6 - 7:30 AM
YUKONN HANIBAL
Revolutionary spiritualism

7:30 AM - 9 AM
RAD'S PLACE
HSMC - call in.

9 AM - Noon
RESURRECTION RADIO
Noon - 2 PM
DIATRIBE or PEACE & FREEDOM
2 - 5:30 PM
MC ROT-A-LOT or L
Spiral Gardening and Con

5:30 - 6:30 PM
RADICAL NEWS HOUR
6:30 - 7:30 PM
THE SLAVES' REVOLT
With Amanda.

7:30 - 9:30 PM
SHIRLEY & SPINOZA
9:30 PM - MIDNIGHT
BICYCLE LIBERATION
Bicycle activism and chaotic 20" crank of the bicycle re

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Park Community blocks sterilization of People's

People's Park, the international liberated zone located in the Berkeley Southside, has been successfully defended by its supporters against another round of construction and gentrification. Through non-violent protest, coalition building, lobbying, and relentless attendance at public meetings, the City and University were persuaded to back down from removing free food and clothing, reconstructing the lawn for sports, and instituting total University control.

People's Park was founded in 1969 on vacant land abandoned by the University of California. The University responded by attacking the Park, causing massive rioting. Since then, every few years, the University has tested the resolve of the users and defenders of People's Park, seeking to destroy the Park and eliminate the entrenched population of homeless people, anarchists, hippies, punx and other dissidents and non-conformists in the Southside area.

The last time this happened was in 1991. The University and the City government signed a joint operating agreement called "The Lease." When construction in the Park began as "The Lease" commanded, massive rioting erupted again. As the 1996 expiration of "The Lease" approached, many feared the authorities would start another confrontation.

SPORTS!

In 1991, the University, while deferring to the liberal City government's desire to retain People's Park as a nostalgic 60s monument, devised a two-pronged strategy for eliminating the Park as a living center of radical leftist resistance: getting rid of the old people and bringing in new people. To



achieve the first objective, police harassment of the street community from both the City and University departments intensified from 1990-1991. To achieve the second objective, the university launched plans to construct sports facilities that would be primarily used by wealthy, white students.

As a result of the great civil disturbance and

persistent militant actions by Park supporters from 1991-1992, the plan was scaled back from four volleyball courts and a basketball court to two volleyball courts and a basketball court. A relentless campaign of persuasion, intimidation, and sabotage by Park activists made the volleyball courts unused, and the basketball court has been used as much by street

people as by upscale students. Meanwhile, enhancing free food & clothing in the Park has helped maintain the street community there.

Free Food

Free food has been distributed in People's Park as long as anyone remembers by various religious groups. Although these services are despised by the University, they have only occasionally been bothered, with the brunt of police harassment delivered directly to the people who ate the food. When the Catholic Worker installed a trailer to serve breakfast in the Park in 1989, it was towed away after about a year. In 1991, when liberal City council members, under public pressure, proposed an amendment to the Lease Agreement stating that free food and clothing would be preserved, the University refused to approve the lease with the amendment.

Also in that year, some people interested in the Food Not Bombs movement wanted to start a chapter in the East Bay. Food Not Bombs, which distributes free food in the context of a social change movement, started in Boston, and had gained notoriety in San Francisco for continuing to serve meals in public despite repeated arrests by the SF police. FNB volunteers reasoned not only that another free meal would make the Park community stronger, but that a regular FNB presence in People's Park could build a politically mobilized community that could protect the Park and develop the Park according to its original creative ideal.

By 1994, University and City officials realized that FNB was strengthening the Park community. Officials started developing plans to remove Food Not Bombs and other food services from People's Park. Official documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act note that large meals in public parks are "inappropriate."

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Free Radio Berkeley vs. The U.S. Government

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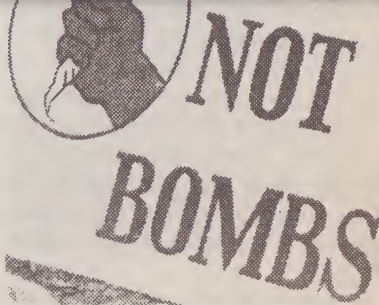
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The USE Committee

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allowed when there are no disputed facts.

In their summary judgment motion, the FCC argues that the only *material* facts they must prove to get an injunction are that: (1) Free Radio Berkeley is broadcasting; and (2) it has no license.

Next, the FCC argues that as a matter of law they must prevail. Their primary argument is *procedural* not substantive. The FCC argues the Court is without jurisdiction to consider any constitutional arguments because a district court can only hear constitutional challenges to *statutes*, and the Court of Appeals has exclusive jurisdiction to consider constitutional challenges to regulations. (In this case, FRB originally challenged the constitutionality of the regulations that forbid licensing of stations with less than 100 watts.) The FCC therefore argues that FRB cannot use constitutional arguments as a defense--that those arguments can only be considered on appeal.

FRB asserts that more facts are material to this dispute than the narrow facts mentioned by the FCC. For instance, FRB notes that questions

of whether the FCC has served the public interest are material.

Additionally, FRB argues that a previous case involving the FCC vs. micro power radio, *Dougan v. FCC*, held that the *district court* had exclusive jurisdiction to decide the constitutional issues raised. Further, FRB argues that they have raised constitutional challenges to *statutes* in addition to regulations and that the Court has jurisdiction to consider the statutory challenges even under the FCC's argument.

The FCC apparently seeks an injunction not just against Dunifer (the defendant in the lawsuit and a member of the FRB collective) and FRB, but also against other stations started with assistance from FRB. The FCC's recent reply brief was the first FCC brief to mention other stations aside from FRB. (It discussed Free Radio Santa Cruz and Arcata Free Radio.) They implied that these other stations were "operated" by "defendant" Dunifer and were associated with FRB. A broad injunction against stations beyond FRB would be a serious denial of due process since none of these stations have been represented by counsel in the current lawsuit.

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While Free Radio Berkeley may prevail in Court, all is not lost even if summary judgment is granted and the station is shut down. FRB has shown that the slow pace of the legal system can be used very effectively. Stations can start up and operate for months before the FCC can obtain an injunction shutting them down. As the movement expands exponentially, the FCC becomes increasingly overwhelmed. The Berkeley experience has shown how much free radio communication can help a community. If the radio is shut down, the fact that so many have tasted the "forbidden" fruit will make it *impossible* for the FCC to ever keep the people from the airwaves that *they* own again.

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104.1 FM

Free Radio Berkeley Weekly Schedule

Your alternative community
voice 24 hours a day

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*Indicates a former KPFA DJ / programmer.

The USE Committee

By 1994, many of the officials who had been willing to use massive police power to seize control of the Park, particularly City manager Michael Brown, were no longer working in Berkeley, and the remaining officials realized that another protracted violent confrontation would further damage the credibility of the City and University. To accomplish the same goals as before, they sought a political strategy that would seem reasonable to most of the city and isolate the sincere defenders of the Park.



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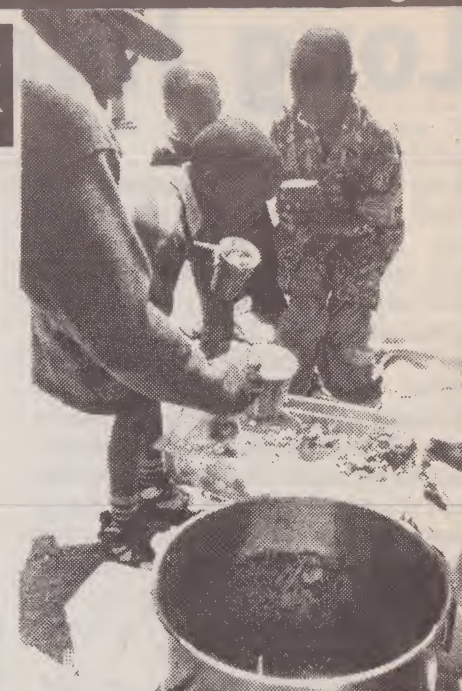
Early in 1995, a blueprint of the proposed future of People's Park was unveiled at a meeting of People's Park "staff": City and University employees including police, athletic supervisors, "gardeners," managers, and others. Under the plan, food distribution would be restricted to indoor locations elsewhere in the city, the Free Box would be destroyed, gardening would be coordinated by the government instead of volunteers, and one person would be the chief executive of the Park.

To implement the plan, the City and the University set up the USE Committee, also called the USEless or abUSE Committee. This body, composed of nine people appointed by the UC Chancellor and one appointee each from eight City Council members and the Mayor, made recommendations to the University and City. Although between the nine UC appointees and the more conservative City appointees, the Committee would always approve the University's plans, the Committee gave an official forum to Park activists appointed by liberal City Council members.

The USE Committee was used to simulate a public process that would just happen to come up with the ideas presented at the "staff" meeting. This was done in a rather clumsy manner; a lot of meaningful public opinion was solicited, the City Manager's office presented its recommendations to the Committee, and the Committee approved the CMs recommendations. These recommendations contradicted the public input but moved in the direction of the plans from the "staff" meeting. For longer term planning, the Committee hired professional facilitators. Then things got really strange.

"The Consensus Conceptual Planning Process"

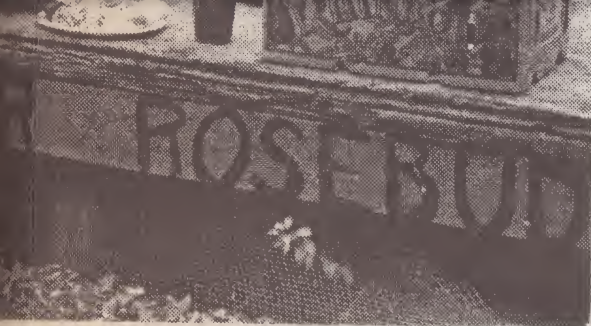
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the Free Box in public meetings, a joint statement from the UC Chancellor and Berkeley mayor urged the removal of both, and newspaper articles described this as the official plan of both governments. Speaking privately to concerned citizens, CONCUR facilitator Peter Bluhon said not to advocate for the services because removing them was "a done deal."

Into the streets...

After members of Food Not Bombs, who use the Park every day, had spent months of trying to reason with officials and Committee members, who never go to Park, and had been repeatedly insulted for their efforts, they decided to take their case to the streets. Besides the remnants of the battered Peoples' Park movement of 1991, several clergy united as the Religious Coalition with the Homeless to speak out for Park services. Area merchants, tired of the ongoing twenty five year disaster of UC Park mismanagement, petitioned for the University to relinquish the park to the City. Neighbors were angered by the noise and commotion new sports facilities would bring, the University's expansion into the



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"The Consensus Conceptual Planning Process"

The facilitators, from a company named CONCUR, while expressing interest in resolving the conflict around Peoples' Park, were paid by the City and University and avoided crossing their hidden agenda. Nonetheless, a well planned public design process unveiled the same message from neighbors, students, merchants, and activists: get rid of the unsightly useless volleyball courts. Also, a University plan to install yet



another basketball court was widely condemned by everyone. Furthermore, among scores of people voicing opinions only high level city and university officials spoke for removing

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On November 28, when the plans approved by the USE Committee went to City Council, three hundred people marched to the Council meeting. During the public comment period required at the beginning of the meeting, people from all walks of life criticized the decisions that were presented to the council for approval.

Back to the Drawing Board

Considering that in 1991, the City and University stuck to their plan for months despite similar protests before the construction, as well as riots and terrorist attacks afterward, it was surprising how quickly they responded to public pressure this time, and began revising their plans. This suggests that the only opposition they had expected to confront were the remaining activists who had opposed them in 1991, and that they believed their plan could be implemented without disruption that would upset neighbors and merchants. On November 28, they saw for the first time a new generation of Peoples' Park activists, assembled over five years by Food Not Bombs activity and mass migration of alienated young people to Berkeley.

When the Council discussed Peoples' Park

FRB attorneys, appearing a number of extremely suspicious instances of sabotage of their transmitter causing brief periods of interference.

While Free Radio Berkeley may prevail in Court, all is not lost even if summary judgment is granted and the station is shut down. FRB has shown that the slow pace of the legal system can be used very effectively. Stations can start up and operate for months before the FCC can obtain an injunction shutting them down. As the movement expands exponentially, the FCC becomes increasingly overwhelmed. The Berkeley experience has shown how much free radio communication can help a community. If the radio is shut down, the fact that so many have tasted the "forbidden" fruit will make it impossible for the FCC to ever keep the people from the airwaves that they own again.

--PB Floyd

Your alternative community voice 24 hours a day

FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
<p>12-3 AM ...ing for heaven</p> <p>3-6 AM ...ism.</p> <p>6-9 AM ...oon</p> <p>9-12 PM ...RADIO</p> <p>12-2 PM ...DOM</p> <p>2-4 PM ...or LOU</p> <p>4-6 PM ...d Compost</p> <p>6-8 PM ...30 PM</p> <p>8-10 PM ...S HOUR</p> <p>10-12 PM ...30 PM</p> <p>12-1 PM ...REVOLT</p> <p>1-3 PM ...30 PM</p> <p>3-5 PM ...NOZA</p> <p>5-7 PM ...MIDNIGHT</p> <p>7-9 PM ...TION RADIO</p> <p>9-11 PM ...chaos with the</p> <p>11-12 PM ...ycle revolution.</p>	<p>MIDNIGHT - 3 AM DOT-COMRIKKI LAKE'S UNIVERSITY OF THE AIR The soul conspiracy review hour times 3 featuring com Rikki Lake, Senor Cajon, & com W Winnchel</p> <p>3 - 6 AM IAO CORE</p> <p>6 - 8 AM DUPREE'S PARADISE With the Night Owl. You deserve the best.</p> <p>8 - 10 AM KIDSOUNDZ Children's Light presents music and storytelling for young people.</p> <p>10 AM - Noon OPEN AIR HOODLUM Born to run!</p> <p>Noon - 3 PM THE ILLUMINATI SHOW All varieties of muzak, occulture, and the unexpected.</p> <p>3 - 5:30 PM SPYDON Hardcore, blues, rap, & interviews.</p> <p>5:30 - 6:30 PM RADICAL NEWS HOUR News in the nude.</p> <p>6:30 - 9 PM BAD NEWZ</p> <p>9 - 10:30 PM HIP HOP SLAM The best in Bay Area hip-hop brought to you by Billy Jam.</p> <p>10:30 PM - MIDNIGHT CAP'N FRED World beat, various varieties of fun, and footage from our fellow micro-power radio stations.</p>	<p>MIDNIGHT - 4 AM TEMPLE RAGE With Gandalf. Bizarre music and cyber-sexual thought incitement.</p> <p>4 - 6 AM DEGUELA</p> <p>6 - 7:30 AM RADIO ASADA Well Habibi it's the Asada</p> <p>7:30 - 9 AM DIG or WELCOME TO BOHEMIA Music & Spoken Word focusing on and by women alternating with spoken word.</p> <p>9 - 11 AM PEITSA Music from elsewhere.</p> <p>11 AM - 1 PM GUNKA Unmitigated bashing of oppression plus punk music.</p> <p>1 - 4 PM THE GOSPEL HOUR</p> <p>4 - 5:30 PM FOREST LOVE</p> <p>5:30 - 6:30 PM LIBERTARIAN PARTY</p> <p>6:30 - 9 PM LIQUID JIM Surreal music and words.</p> <p>9 PM - MIDNIGHT ACTING GLOBALLY & REVOLTING LOCALLY With Stephen Dunifer & Laura Drawbridge. Interviews and historical perspective on activism and organizing. Music and spoken word to inspire folks to action. Smash the State!</p>

take anything out. In 1991, months before the volleyball riots, University workers destroyed the box. Volunteers built a new box, but that too was destroyed. Finally, the box was rebuilt again and a 24 hour vigil over several days preserved the box until the University gave up.

At the same time, the prevalence of naive and moneyed students and tourists in the area attracted bands of petty drug dealers. These people sold fake or low quality pot and acid to afford crack cocaine from other dealers. As police drove this scene from nearby Telegraph Ave. the dealers found a safe haven in People's Park. Officials claimed that free clothes could be sold at nearby, second hand stores, and that the money from those sales "caused" drug abuse. Officials claimed that without the Free Box, the dealers would disappear. Additionally, the presence of many poor young black men using the Free Box was frightening to the allegedly progressive white residents and business people in the area. Officials became confident that the controversy over the Free Box could divide the supporters of the Park.

The USE Committee

By 1994, many of the officials who had been willing to use massive police power to seize control of the Park, particularly City manager Michael Brown, were no longer working in Berkeley, and the remaining officials realized that another protracted violent confrontation would further damage the credibility of the City and University. To accomplish the same goals as before, they sought a political strategy that would seem reasonable to most of the city and isolate the sincere defenders of the Park.



Nonetheless, a well planned public design process unveiled the same message from neighbors, students, merchants, and activists: get rid of the unsightly useless volleyball courts. Also, a University plan to install yet



another basketball court was widely condemned by everyone. Furthermore, among scores of people voicing opinions only high level city and university officials spoke for removing food services.

In the following meetings, the University offered to remove the volleyball courts if in exchange the restored lawn area, comprising most of the Park, could be used for lawn sports in the evenings, when community use of the Park is low. This plan was greeted with enthusiasm, until later meetings when several details were reveled or added; the lawn would be re-landscaped and flattened, bright lights would be installed around the lawn, and sports would be played on the weekends as well.

Believing that People's Park really belonged to the community, Park supporters and the liberal City appointees on the Committee had hoped that the management agreement following the Lease would allow the City and community greater control, moving toward complete community control and ownership in the future. But University and conservative City appointees united for total University management.

Furthermore, while the USE Committee avoided discussing the issues of free food and

by the USE Committee went to City Council, three hundred people marched to the Council meeting. During the public comment period required at the beginning of the meeting, people from all walks of life criticized the decisions that were presented to the council for approval.

Back to the Drawing Board

Considering that in 1991, the City and University stuck to their plan for months despite similar protests before the construction, as well as riots and terrorist attacks afterward, it was surprising how quickly they responded to public pressure this time, and began revising their plans. This suggests that the only opposition they had expected to confront were the remaining activists who had opposed them in 1991, and that they believed their plan could be implemented without disruption that would upset neighbors and merchants. On November 28, they saw for the first time a new generation of Peoples' Park activists, assembled over five years by Food Not Bombs activity and mass migration of alienated young people to Berkeley.

When the Council discussed People's Park again, on January 9, 1996, plans to interfere with meals by Food Not Bombs were formally abandoned. Interest in eliminating the Free Box persisted but was open for discussion. Although the City role in People's Park "management" was officially limited to day-to-day operations and not policy decisions, it was clear that any controversial University action would be met by a large and prompt community action. Although some athletic activity could be scheduled on the lawn, formal intramural sports would not be, and the lawn would be retained by the People on weekends.

Loose Ends...

At this time, the modified plans approved by the City Council are still awaiting final approval by a committee of the University's reactionary Board of Regents. The future of the Free Box is uncertain; if the community around People's Park does not develop a plan to improve the functioning of the Box, or at

Continued on Page 15

Long Haul Update

If you've never been to the Long Haul/Infoshop before, come on by.

Long Haul is a radical community center located in South Berkeley across from La Peña. The front room features an Infoshop which provides access to alternative and radical magazines, publications and zines. The Infoshop has bulletin boards with upcoming events. Visitors can find out how to get involved in a variety of social change organizations and can get flyers to post as well as free or cheap radical reading material.

Behind the Infoshop the Long Haul contains offices of a number of political or social change organizations including: Food Not Bombs East Bay, Spiral Gardens, the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World [radical union]) East Bay General Membership Branch, and Humane Services for the Mentally Crisised.

Every Monday is women only at Long Haul. The Infoshop is open 4-8 p.m. Every week women's day presents a different workshop, film or event.

Every Sunday at 7:30 is Cafenight, a dinner fundraiser for a different political group each week. Dinner is vegan and costs \$2.50-\$3 a plate. Cafenight is a great time to network with the various groups using the space and to meet new people.

Since the last *Slingshot*, many of the groups and communities represented at Long Haul have been asking where the radical "movement"

should go now given the conservative trend nationally and the weak position of the left. Meetings, picnics, study groups and discussions have begun to move towards some ideas but there is still much work to be done.

Events at the Long Haul and Infoshop have been attracting more folks recently but many people still have never been to Long Haul. Its informational resources are getting more organized but are still way underused.

Everyone is welcome to visit the Infoshop and the Long Haul during Infoshop open hours. If you are involved in a political group, see how you can use our resources or contribute to the information offered to the public through the Infoshop. If you're looking to get involved in political work in the East Bay, drop by. --PB

**Office for Rent
Now! \$130 or \$70.
Call 540-0751.**

Long Haul/Infoshop
3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA
94705 • 510-540-0751

Sunday 3-9 p.m. (Dinner-7:30)

Monday (Women only) 4-8 p.m.

Tuesday, Thursday 3-9 p.m.

Wednesday 6-9 p.m.

Saturday 3-6 p.m.

Gilman Street Gentrification

924 Gilman, an all ages, punk community/performance space located in West Berkeley since 1986 is finding its once quiet, industrial/warehouse location increasingly



What it is to be a girl in a (anarchist) boys club

from "Alphabet Threat"

- You act as if nothing will get done if you don't do it.
- I don't trust the physicality that you initiate BUT at the same time I want all of us to be more physical-playful-affectionate with each other.
- I can and do defend myself against all sorts of verbal attacks until it is something sexual from someone I know and like and trust and then sometimes I pretend I'm amused or like it or don't mind or something. I'm confused by my inability to deal when I've practiced and want to, and by your inability to recognize your behavior as sexual oppression.
- O.K. I'm way intimidated by lots of loud boys in a group.
- Everything I say out loud in a group is pre-planned, composed. I'm not spontaneous 'cuz yeah I'm shy but mostly I don't trust you to listen without interrupting, treat what I say as valued if I'm not rehearsed.
- I don't want to be squashed.
- I'm outnumbered. My allies are silent around you.
- You are approached to answer questions for our group, make decisions and announcements. You even think it is okay to define our group to visitors, strangers. Somehow you aren't ever questioned by the group for this behavior.
- I've stopped believing that you are "sorry" or are "working on it".



- Why don't you wonder about girls not getting involved, or leaving, or sitting in silence?
- A body count is not gender balance.
- I don't fucking want the responsibility of policing for sexism.
- Feminist perspective is not just for women or special occasions.
- You are not the boss. Get over yourself.
- When I assert myself you get to think that it is as easy for me as for you, as easy for all women as for me. Wrong.



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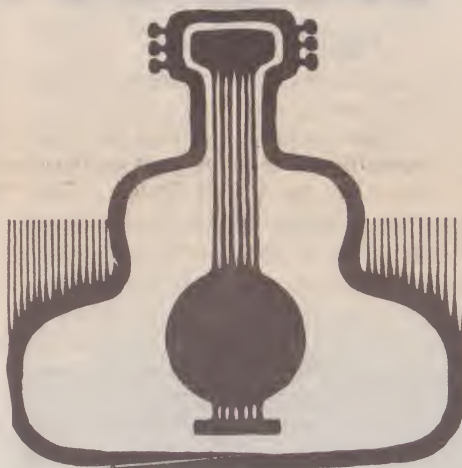
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Gilman Street Gentrification

924 Gilman, an all ages, punk community/performance space located in West Berkeley since 1986 is finding its once quiet, industrial/warehouse location increasingly crowded out by upscale "brew pubs", restaurants and retail stores meant to appeal to a more moneyed crowd.

The Gilman Street project chose this location for its relative isolation, where it can avoid confrontations with police, merchants, jocks, "yuppies", and other people who might object to "funny colored hair" or "punk attitudes". This region and others like it, industrial areas right off the highway, have been attracting a larger and larger crowd as Berkeley and its industrial areas gets more trendy to those with money. This area of Berkeley is supposedly protected as a, industrial/warehouse area by the West Berkeley Plan, approved by the City Council in 1993.

The zoning board of Berkeley has cited us as a valuable and delicate resource in the bay area (when over 100 punks show up at there meetings to apply pressure) yet allows new businesses that potentially threaten us to unbalance the "delicate" balance they point out. The zoning board's approval of Hart Brewing building a brew pub at 901 Gilman, across from an all ages, no drugs or alcohol space, is ridiculous! This bar opens in September and is to be larger than Gilman Street Project, maybe even larger than



line further each year as warehouse space becomes more available and industry drops. This plan protects us from retail, food service, or bars. Yet the zoning board of Berkeley has allowed several upscale restaurants and businesses to move into the Gilman corridor: Jimmy Beans, Office Depot, Hart Brewing, and other retail stores that attract clientele beyond the region's financial means. Our patrons have already been refused service or find the prices well outside the limits of their wallets.

We are of course in active resistance to the influx of businesses which threaten to push us out of our neighborhood. We also fully support the West Berkeley Plan in all its intentions for

other.
• I can and do defend myself against all sorts of verbal attacks until it is something sexual from someone I know and like and trust and then sometimes I pretend I'm amused or like it or don't mind or something. I'm confused by my inability to deal when I've practiced and want to, and by your inability to recognize your behavior as sexual oppression.

• O.K. I'm way intimidated by lots of loud boys in a group.

• Everything I say out loud in a group is pre-planned, composed. I'm not spontaneous 'cuz yeah I'm shy but mostly I don't trust you to listen without interrupting, treat what I say as valued if I'm not rehearsed.

• I don't want to be squashed.

• I'm outnumbered. My allies are silent around you.

• You are approached to answer questions for our group, make decisions and announcements. You even think it is okay to define our group to visitors, strangers. Somehow you aren't ever questioned by the group for this behavior.

• I've stopped believing that you are "sorry" or are "working on it".

• I'm putting less and less energy, at age 25, into heated discussions and reacting to/educating people with stupid behavior. I'm tired of correcting sexism. There are other things I need to put my energy into--my creativity, my search for meaning, personal relationships. Men (and all people with a sub/consciousness who say women are less able) need to feel how sexism limits them. Men need to stop feeling self righteous and defensive (classic reactions to even a third person comment about gender inequity) and look honestly at their ways. How does sexism limit a man?

• Why do I hafta be the bitch?

• Maybe a "group" discussion dominated by two or three people ISN'T.

• D.I.Y. or do it all by yourself?



involved, or leaving, or sitting in silence?
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• Prob'ly you think that THIS group (yeah this one) doesn't have any gender issues or sexism.

• Sometimes I think that feminist issues, women's groups and projects exist to pacify and occupy and distract me.

• Just shut the fuck up a little. Once in a while.

• Why am I the only one who knows how to nurture?

• When women in our group decide to get together you hafta know why and how and what gets said. None of your beeswax.

• You complain that you feel left out when the women get together. I feel smothered in a "mixed" group right now.

• I've spent my life in a world defined by men, learning from men, relating to men, reading men, trying to write and talk like men, being around men. It is time for me to be with women.

The Gilman Street project chose this location for its relative isolation, where it can avoid confrontations with police, merchants, jocks, "yuppies", and other people who might object to "funny colored hair" or "punk attitudes". This region and others like it, industrial areas right off the highway, have been attracting a larger and larger crowd as Berkeley and its industrial areas gets more trendy to those with money. This area of Berkeley is supposedly protected as a, industrial/warehouse area by the West Berkeley Plan, approved by the City Council in 1993.

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The zoning board has just approved a new restaurant and three retail stores that violate the West Berkeley Plan in word and spirit regardless of our vehement objection. The zoning board staff and the owners had been "working for over a year" to devise a plan to make these new businesses work, despite their continued threat to existing businesses (including us) and zoning violations.

With the infiltration of upscale businesses, we are afraid of a sudden lack of parking and street danger due to all the new traffic (several people have already been hit in front of our club by cars coming off the highway or from other businesses), that the rent for the area will rise with the increasing gentrification of the neighborhood, or that our new neighbors will object to the "obnoxious" punks that attend our space.

The West Berkeley Plan was created to protect industrial and warehouse jobs and businesses (Gilman rents a warehouse space). Yet the pressure from big money pushes the



line further each year as warehouse space becomes more available and industry drops. This plan protects us from retail, food service, or bars. Yet the zoning board of Berkeley has allowed several upscale restaurants and businesses to move into the Gilman corridor: Jimmy Beans, Office Depot, Hart Brewing, and other retail stores that attract clientele beyond the region's financial means. Our patrons have already been refused service or find the prices well outside the limits of their wallets.

We are of course in active resistance to the influx of businesses which threaten to push us out of our neighborhood. We also fully support the West Berkeley Plan in all its intentions for this area.

What can we do to resist the continued invasion of upscale businesses into our neighborhood; businesses that, by their very existence, threaten ours, if the city will not respect the concerns of existing spaces or even their own rulings? It seems that money may win out over the kids again unless there is a serious turn around.

Contact us at:
P.O. Box 1058
Berkeley, CA 94701
(510) 524-8180

Slingshot fully supports the 924 Gilman Street Project. We like their non-profit collective structure, the no major-label band policy, that it is a place for young people to go, the fact that they do benefits, and the music. We printed this article with that spirit of the project in mind. However, we cannot let pass without comment what we have seen in cities all over the place, time and time again: all too often (always...?) it is the punks, freaks, weirdos and artists who are at the forefront of the gentrification of industrial and poor neighborhoods; ten years later the yuppies follow. After much Slingshot debate, we felt that we wanted to print the Gilman article for the above reasons, but wanted to put the politics of gentrification in a bit of context.

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★★★★★★★★★ RVA Punk Nation

The Richmond, Virginia Punk scene is starting up a space, kinda like what we have in Berkeley at Gilman.
It'll be:

- DIY
- All ages
- Cheap
- No contracts or guarantees
- No alcohol or drugs
- Punk as Fuck

So if you want a space for your band to play, a place to sell (or buy) zines or records, and to be part of making a rad scene happen, check out the RVA Punk Nation. Plus, they need support cuz they're trying to do it legally and not get shut down, and that's expensive. You can get in touch with them at P.O. Box 4621, Richmond, VA 23220, or call (804) 228-3610.



graphic courtesy HAG

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California's Rising Prison Industrial Complex

In the 132-year span between 1852 and 1984 exactly 12 prisons were constructed in California. In the 10 years between 1984 and



1994, 20 prisons were built. Another 12 prisons were already in the planning stages even before the "Three Strikes" law was passed in 1994. Under the new law, it is estimated that another 50 prisons will be needed by the year 2000 for a total of 94 prisons holding some 341,000 prisoners.

The estimated cost of building those 50 new prisons is \$14.2 billion; the cost of operating all 94 prisons in 2000 is estimated to be \$10 billion, or \$8 billion a year more than the state is now spending on the Department of

Corrections. The cost of housing one prisoner is \$20,525 a year (\$30-37,000 if you include construction and debt service costs.)

The prison industry today is the fastest growing industry in the nation, both state and federal. Both levels are hiring people as quickly as the prisons are built. Nearly 65% of \$1.8 billion of the Dept. of Corrections budget goes for salaries and benefits for its employees. The yearly pay for a California prison guard with a high school degree and six years on the job is \$45,000. The initial job qualification, beyond the high school diploma is a six-week training course and no more than one felony conviction. It is clear building and running prisons in California are growth industries. Looking for work? Try prison guard.

During the last ten years while the state was building 20 prisons, it built but one state university campus and no University of California campus. For the cost of incarcerating one prisoner for a year, California could send two students to the University of California, three students to a California State University and seven students to a community college.

The state and federal prison population topped 1 million for the first time in history, hitting 1,012,851 at the end of June. There are currently over 150,000 people imprisoned in California. The state predicts the number of prisoners will double to 285,000--about the size of Riverside, California--by the year 2000. That projection covers the longer sentences required by the "Three Strikes" life sentence law enacted earlier in 1994.

The cost of this building boom is \$4.4 billion so far in California alone, plus interest cost to bonds that could double that. 25 more new prisons are presently being constructed or on the table. Before long, you too will be homeless and hungry and looking for that piece of pizza, with the threat of a state sentencing you to 25 years to life or planning your execution (murder).

Prison Expansion

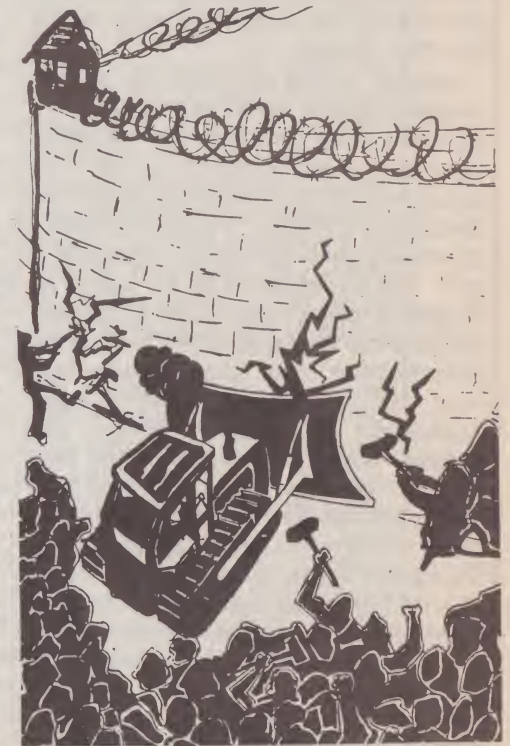
Continued from Page 1

big business--some say they are the only growth industry left. In California, 19 of the 31 existing prisons have been built since 1984. California spends \$5.6 billion on incarceration versus \$4.3 billion for higher education. Prison guard jobs are plentiful (up from 7570 in 1985 to 25547 in 1994--corrections is the state's largest employer); guards receive salaries higher than that of tenured associate professors at Universities of California. There are currently six new prisons planned for construction in California by the year 2000, at the projected cost of nearly \$2 billion. Currently prisons are running at 182 percent over capacity; the new prisons will not be able to keep up with the rising number of people expected to be incarcerated for long periods of time, and the overcrowding and terrible conditions will only get worse.

How can we continue to afford this? The goal appears to be to make the prisons pay for themselves through the use of prison labor. All across the country, private firms are paying prisoners well under minimum wage to do work--things like data entry, pig raising, blood testing, product packing, telephone reservations for airlines, and everything in between. In California, since the passage of Proposition 139 in 1990 (which allowed private firms to use imprisoned labor to make and sell goods on the open market) literally millions of dollars have been made by the state, which siphons off 'room and board' from prisoners salaries, as well as profits the private companies make from the cheap prison labor (that is labor complete with no health benefits, vacation pay, sick pay, union organizing or strikes). And well firms may claim to pay minimum wage to the workers, prisoners are not seeing most of it: the Department of Corrections skims off about 80% of the wages immediately; clothing companies (such as Eddie Bauer) who use prison labor usually pay by a per-piece rate, so what a prisoner gets an hour really depends on their speed of work.

were made that much stronger (this was in the 1980s, and pre-dated Proposition 139, but juvenile facilities are exempt from many state laws), . There is also a clear and distinct undercutting of the already deteriorated wage market by the use of prison labor.

Within the context of a rising, increasingly privatized prison-industrial complex, the huge



numbers of people being locked up for non-violent offenses for long term sentences becomes even more disturbing. And according to the Prison Activist Resource Center, all but two of the top ten reasons people are being locked up are non-violent offenses. The ones that are NOT on the list include: murder (any degree), rape (or any other sex crime), manslaughter, and kidnapping. Yet three of the top five offenses that are on the list involve possession or sale of controlled substances.

With Clinton's recent appointment of



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Alternative Press Review

Activating Dissent--It's good to see a political scene type paper out of a conservative area like Salt Lake City. Peltier, Mumia, Food Not Bombs, Native American prisoners struggle for right to worship, Nuclear waste dumping in Ward Valley are covered.
(\$1 PO Box 11015 SLC, UT 84147)

The Body Politic--A monthly pro-choice news report. This publication keeps an informed eye on the anti-abortion right-wing with detailed info about their organizations, strategies and key players. Covers pro-choice activities and resources.
(\$3.50 Box 2363/Binghamton, NY 13902)

Crossroads--This monthly magazine is put out by a left/socialist think tank. The latest issue is an in-depth look at the Beijing Women's conference. A few issues ago they did an excellent one on the War on Drugs..
Thrusts an anti-racist centrality to building

around the North America and beyond. This is a rapidly growing movement.
(\$2/ 3145 Geary #12/ SF CA 94118)

Free Society--A journal of anarchist theory and action. The articles here are deep--the first one is by French philosopher Jacques Derrida on Mumia. Other stuff includes Politics of Breast Cancer, Ecological Anarchism, OJ, MOVE!. Work your brain. Read this.
(\$2 PO Box 35 Stuyvesant Station NY, NY 10009)

Jericho Newsletter--This is a prisoner rights monthly newsletter put out by St. Catherine's Universal Life Church. The first article "Why prisons don't work" is by Wilbert Rideau who gained notoriety for publishing a paper in Louisiana's state pen (Angola).
(\$10/ 1 yr. PO Box 1983/ Cincinnati OH 45201)

Prison News Service--This long time anti-

across the country, private firms are paying prisoners well under minimum wage to do work--things like data entry, pig raising, blood testing, product packing, telephone reservations for airlines, and everything in between. In California, since the passage of Proposition 139 in 1990 (which allowed private firms to use imprisoned labor to make and sell goods on the open market) literally millions of dollars have been made by the state, which siphons off 'room and board' from prisoners salaries, as well as profits the private companies make from the cheap prison labor (that is labor complete with no health benefits, vacation pay, sick pay, union organizing or strikes). And well firms may claim to pay minimum wage to the workers, prisoners are not seeing most of it: the Department of Corrections skims off about 80% of the wages immediately; clothing companies (such as Eddie Bauer) who use prison labor usually pay by a per-piece rate, so what a prisoner gets an hour really depends on their speed of work.

Prisoners lack of overall political rights makes them one of the most profitable labor forces in the United States. The 13th ammendment makes slavery illegal--except for prisoners. Indeed, not only is there complete control of the workforce in prisons, but prison labor has been used to break and avoid strikes in other workplaces. For example, TWA began using juveniles in the Ventura Youth Facility to make phone reservations when flight attendants went on strike. By moving regular ticket agents to the flight attendant's position's, TWAs strike-breaking efforts



numbers of people being locked up for non-violent offenses for long term sentences becomes even more disturbing. And according to the Prison Activist Resource Center, all but two of the top ten reasons people are being locked up are non-violent offenses. The ones that are NOT on the list include: murder (any degree), rape (or any other sex crime), manslaughter, and kidnapping. Yet three of the top five offenses that are on the list involve possession or sale of controlled substances.

With Clinton's recent appointment of military general Barry R. McCafferey as drug czar, things are not likely to change for the better. McCafferey was the head of the United States' military's Southern Command, who were at the literal front lines of the phony U.S. drug war in Latin America. The symbolism of Clinton sending in the military to reactivate the war on drugs at home is disturbing yet clear. The Clinton drug policy budget is almost identical to what it has been since Bush's reign--about 70% for enforcement and 30% for treatment and prevention.
-M. Bee

Florida Anarchists Raided by Police

On Friday, January 12, 1996, SWAT unit and police intelligence officers raided the residence of Jacksonville, Florida Anarchist

Black Cross (a prisoner support group) and Youth Action Movement.

Police arrested Rob Cluesman, confiscated 2 legally owned shotguns, a police scanner, spray paint, stencils, political literature and computer disks. Officials claimed all of these items were being held as evidence in an "ongoing investigation."

Police quarantined the 3 remaining collective members while other officers searched the house, and took photographs. Police attempted to interrogate collective members, who refused to sign consent forms to allow a

Another Mass Arrest in S.F.

A march in San Francisco to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the beating of Rodney

Alternative Press Review

Activating Dissent-It's good to see a political scene type paper out of a conservative area like Salt Lake City. Peltier, Mumia, Food Not Bombs, Native American prisoners struggle for right to worship, Nuclear waste dumping in Ward Valley are covered.
(\$1 PO Box 11015 SLC, UT 84147)

The Body Politic- A monthly pro-choice news report. This publication keeps an informed eye on the anti-abortion right-wing with detailed info about their organizations, strategies and key players. Covers pro-choice activities and resources.
(\$3.50 Box 2363/ Binghamton, NY 13902)

Crossroads-This monthly magazine is put out by a left/socialist think tank. The latest issue is an in-depth look at the Beijing Women's conference. A few issues ago they did an excellent one on the War on Drugs.. They stress an anti-racist centrality to building popular movements.
(\$3 PO Box 2809 Oakland, CA 94609)

FATSO-For people who don't apologize for their size. Hopefully this slick and lively zine is still coming out.
(\$3.50 PO Box 423464/ SF CA 94142)

Fifth Estate- The first quote in the lead article (30 years of the Fifth Estate) is by the FBI "The Fifth Estate supports the cause of revolution everywhere", which sums up the FE's 30 year existence. Interesting history of post WW1 government clampdown on dissent as well as Leon Czolgosz assassination of president McKinley. A first hand account of the Detroit newspaper strike was excellent.. Slingshot gets dissed in the letters.
(\$1.50 4632 Second Ave./ Detroit MI 48201)

Food Not Bombs MENU-This is sort of an internal bulletin of FNB and related happenings. A large contact list of groups

around the North America and beyond. This is a rapidly growing movement.
(\$2/ 3145 Geary #12/ SF CA 94118)

Free Society- A journal of anarchist theory and action. The articles here are deep- the first one is by French philosopher Jaques Derrida on Mumia. Other stuff includes Politics of Breast Cancer, Ecological Anarchism, OJ, MOVE!. Work your brain. Read this.
(\$2 PO Box 35 Stuyvesant Station NY, NY 10009)

Jericho Newsletter- This is a prisoner rights monthly newsletter put out by St. Catherine's Universal Life Church. The first article "Why prisons don't work" is by Wilbert Rideau who gained notoriety for publishing a paper in Louisiana's state pen (Angola).
(\$10/ 1 yr. PO Box 1983/ Cincinnati OH 45201)

Prison News Service- This long time anti-prison publication is an important resource for people wanting to fight the prison-industrial complex (which should be all of us). Though the editorial collective comes from an anti-authoritarian critique of prisons most of the writing is by prisoners and other activists who present a variety of political perspectives. These are important and unheard voices that give a real inside look at the struggles being waged against the prison state.
(\$10/6 issues/free to prisoners / PO Box 5052 Stn. A Toronto, Ont M5W 1W4)

Third Force- Issues & Actions in Communities of Color. The latest issue has a special focus on race, gender, & sexuality. The analysis here is exceptionally articulate and thought engaging coming from seasoned organizers. Their goal is to construct an independent, grassroots, multiracial movement for justice.
(\$4 /1218 east 21st/Oakland CA 94606)

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After the raid the television news media ran several supportive interviews of Jacksonville ABC and YAM and their work in the community, such as free food and literature distribution.

Then on January 24 at about 8:15 p.m., about 8 Jacksonville Police officers raided the home of Jacksonville Anarchist Black Cross and Youth Action Movement again. No less than three officers were also at the January 12th raid of the same home. Unlike the first raid, officers this time came with warrants for the arrest of three Jacksonville ABC members, Rob Cluesman, Justin Tichy, and Chris Hemdon.

Police arrested Rob at his home and arrested Justin and Chris at their workplaces. All three have been charged with Criminal Mischief, which is a felony in Florida. They face over \$3,500 in fines and 2 years in prison each.

Another Mass Arrest in S.F.

A march in San Francisco to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the beating of Rodney King and subsequent riots ended abruptly when police encircled the march and arrested everyone. On March 3, about 200 people gathered in the Mission district for a rally against the persistent problem of police abuse in our society. The event was organized by a diverse coalition, from radicals to police civilian review enthusiasts.

Apparently SFPD hostility to demonstrations is not going to let up under the new supposedly more liberal mayor, Willie Brown. The march was arrested just as we had almost reached our destination, the police station at 850 Bryant. After warning us repeatedly throughout the march that we would be arrested if we did not confine ourselves to the right-hand lane of traffic, the tac squad sprung on us from a block ahead and 130 were arrested. We were all out within a few hours with traffic citations and will be in court in early April.
-N.W.

Unions Stir from the Dead

Continued from Page 5

out of their slumber.

In October, the AFL-CIO, the largest federation of unions in the United States, elected the "New Voice" ticket consisting of John Sweeney, president of the Service Employees International Union, Richard L. Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers and Linda Chavez-Thompson, a Texas activist. The election was the first contested election for the AFL-CIO in decades.

Sweeney, Trumka and Chavez all have encouraging militant credentials. Sweeney's union, one of the fastest growing in America, focuses on service workers, who work in an area of the economy that is growing while manufacturing is shrinking. A greater proportion of service workers are women and people of color. His militant tactics on the Justice for Janitors campaigns have included direct action and "corporate campaigns" in which unions use publicity, stock proxy fights, lawsuits, boycotts, and other creative tactics to attack corporations that refuse to bargain with workers. Trumka led the militant Pittston Mine strike in 1989 which saw workers dressed in military fatigues fighting running battles with scabs. Chavez is the first non-white in an AFL-CIO top executive office and has said she will go to jail if necessary to press labor's aims.

The election of these new "leaders" reflects a rising tide of militancy and activism within the union movement. The election of Sweeney is not the cause of labor's new drive, but its logical result. On a grassroots level across the country unions are becoming more militant, determined to resist capitalist takebacks. A few months after the election, it appears that the AFL-CIO leadership has changed the federation's, and the union movement's, course.

America Needs A Raise

On February 20, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO adopted a comprehensive strategy that links legislative, political and organizing efforts under the theme "America Needs A Raise." The campaign aims to "motivate unrepresented as well as represented workers"

well as careful scrutiny of political candidates seeking union support.

Union Summer 1996

Part of the \$35 million will go into the "Union Summer" campaign. The campaign, named after Freedom Summer in 1964 in which young people traveled to the South to work in civil rights campaigns, aims to broaden the union movement. It is directed towards improvements for the working class as a whole, not just union members. According to a campaign statement: "The new leadership of the AFL-CIO is committed to bringing hundreds of young people out on union organizing campaigns and political projects this summer. [The] program will reach out to low wage and younger workers, recent immigrants, women and people of color -- the new face of labor. We will hit neighborhoods and worksites across the land with the message that *all* working people deserve dignity on the job and a living wage." 1,000 young people are being recruited to work on projects across America.

Additionally, the upswing of union activism has focused on increasingly militant tactics. The Hillhaven nursing home actions in San Francisco have been a local example of labor's more militant tactics. In January and March, SEIU Local 250 organized "Days of Rage" in which "flying squads" roved through the San Francisco Financial District blocking traffic to call attention to the working conditions at Hillhaven nursing homes and to poor patient care due to the corporatization of healthcare.

These actions have been part of a "corporate campaign" against Tacoma, Washington based Hillhaven Corp. After Hillhaven refused to expand bargaining rights at nursing homes in California, Unions started a multi-pronged campaign to convince Hillhaven to reconsider. Unions filed a federal lawsuit to attempt to prevent Hillhaven from merging with Vencor Inc. claiming that Hillhaven couldn't care for some patients. Unions also convinced one of Hillhaven's insurance companies to launch an investigation of patient care.

When poor people take things, it's called looting. When rich people take things, it's called profits.



industrialized European nations.

It is unclear how Labor Party Advocates (LPA) will develop since the party's platform won't be formed until the founding convention June 6-9 in Cleveland, Ohio. But unlike some other third party attempts, it doesn't appear that LPA is a sectarian front. The party is supported by dozens of union locals and a few major national unions. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America are all backing LPA.

The LPA therefore has support, both in terms of union-member potential voters and access to funds, that other left third party attempts have lacked. While right-wing political organizations can rely on millions from fundamentalist Christian congregations, the left has traditionally lacked the kind of funding mechanisms necessary to fund mainstream electoral politics. The tie to unions, which have special access to funds, might allow the kind of serious progressive challenge to the two party system that has alluded the left for decades.

While many local unions have moved to support the LPA, the national AFL-CIO still appears to support the Democratic Party rather than a challenge to the two party system. This is unfortunate since it is clear that the Democrats have repeatedly failed labor and working people. There may, however, be some hope: At a recent protest in Columbus, OH, AFL-CIO second in command Trumka noted that should no candidates in any particular political race represent labor interests, the

quo and capitalism. The major unions are fundamentally *not* about making real change and overthrowing capitalism. Most unions are about making life tolerable assuming that the capitalist system survives. In fact, unions depend on capitalism.

Labor laws passed in the 1930s limit the effectiveness of unions by limiting the questions over which unions can "legally" bargain with employers. Unions are not permitted to bargain for worker control or a change of the relations at work. No one in the mainstream union movement appears to be working to change these laws to allow union demands over more than just wages, benefits, and work rules. (Except the IWW, which has always raised the issue of much broader work place control.)

While some in the mainstream union movement are talking about more aggressive and militant tactics to organize unions, it does not appear that the mainstream union movement is making particularly innovative demands for the organized workers. Unions are not, for example, demanding a shorter work week.

Workers traditionally have struggled to decrease the work week as technology has made workers more and more productive. Since the 1930s, when most workers finally won the 8 hour day, technology has improved significantly yet the work week has remained constant or, recently, has begun to increase. The average US worker now works *more* than 8 hours a day, much of it in overtime.

While some progressive unions have begun to suggest that the overtime premium should be increased from time and a half to double time in order to discourage weeks that exceed 40 hours, demands for a 32 hour week with the same pay would go much farther. Such a change would increase the demand for labor, decrease unemployment, and therefore increase the pay and bargaining power of all workers. Technologically, it is clear that the US economy can support a 32 hour week. It is equally clear that most people would appreciate a decrease in the work week. Most workers feel overwhelmed raising children, attempting to have relationships, and enjoying life while both partners in a family work full time jobs.

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The election of these new "leaders" reflects a rising tide of militancy and activism within the union movement. The election of Sweeney is not the cause of labor's new drive, but its logical result. On a grassroots level across the country unions are becoming more militant, determined to resist capitalist takebacks. A few months after the election, it appears that the AFL-CIO leadership has changed the federation's, and the union movement's, course.

America Needs A Raise

On February 20, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO adopted a comprehensive strategy that links legislative, political and organizing efforts under the theme "America Needs A Raise." The campaign aims to "motivate unrepresented as well as represented workers" according to Sweeney. This focus on workers as a class is an important reason to be optimistic about the union movement's new direction.

A major part of the America Needs A Raise strategy involves the campaign to increase the minimum wage. (See related article.) Few if any union members make the minimum wage, but increasing it can help millions of workers out of poverty and ultimately improves the lot of the class as a whole.

The AFL-CIO has pledged to spend \$35 million on the America Needs a Raise campaign for local grassroots aspects, union organizing, as

with the message that all working people deserve dignity on the job and a living wage." 1,000 young people are being recruited to work on projects across America.

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The Bosses Have Two Parties:

Workers Should Have At Least One

Another encouraging development in the labor movement is the attempt to organize a labor party. Labor Party Advocates is a national effort that rejects both major parties and is working to establish a labor party in the US, loosely based on labor parties in

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While many local unions have moved to support the LPA, the national AFL-CIO still appears to support the Democratic Party rather than a challenge to the two party system. This is unfortunate since it is clear that the Democrats have repeatedly failed labor and working people. There may, however, be some hope: At a recent protest in Columbus, OH, AFL-CIO second in command Trumka noted that should no candidates in any particular political race represent labor interests, the union will run its own candidate.

However, at least until LPA gets off the ground and it is clear where it is going, it appears that the national AFL-CIO will stay on the sidelines, perhaps at least refusing to support Democrats that have betrayed labor and working people.

Skepticism is Justified

The new energy apparent in the union movement should be taken with a grain of salt given big labor's past record of betrayal of workers and progressive change. Unions are still massive institutions with many ties to the status

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If the union movement is actually getting stronger, there is no shortage of projects for the new found energy. Unions that organize all sectors of the economy, that organize women and men of all races, that militantly move forward with demands for better conditions and pay, that are international to contradict the globalization of capital, that are independent of the two major parties, that wield political strength equal to their numbers and that use this strength to fight for greater organizing rights and economic improvements for the working class as a whole, are sorely needed in the 90s.

--PB Floyd

Walgreens harshes my Mellow

Continued from Page 5

show real quality of construction and style.

Everywhere Walgreens has built new stores, locally owned independent stores have gone out of business. This is true with the expansion of chainstores generally. Blockbuster Video, Safeway, Starbucks Coffee and McDonalds all focus economic control and wealth in the hands of distant corporate Boards of Directors while putting locally controlled businesses out of business. A few low paying jobs are created

pharmacies closed each year in Washington State between 1989 and 1992. In 1993 and 1994, 80 independents closed. While no figures are available from California, a similar trend is in action here as chainstore pharmacies expand.

The trend towards "managed health care" in Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) is working to the benefit of chains like Walgreens and against locally owned pharmacies. Huge

for ecological urban development which uses existing buildings, and for bike or foot friendly planning. The last thing Oakland needs is more

chainstores that suck money out of local communities. Walgreens should be resisted before its too late.

--PB Floyd

A few pennies

Continued from Page 5

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full time and almost 40 percent are the sole wage earner in their family (including many working mothers.)

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Statistics for Washington state show that the death rate for independent pharmacies has increased over the last few years. According to the Washington state Board of Pharmacy, approximately 20 independent, neighborhood

pharmacies closed each year in Washington State between 1989 and 1992. In 1993 and 1994, 80 independents closed. While no figures are available from California, a similar trend is in action here as chainstore pharmacies expand.

The trend towards "managed health care" in Health Maintenance Organizations (HMOs) is working to the benefit of chains like Walgreens and against locally owned pharmacies. Huge drugstore chains negotiate drug discount deals with managed care organizations. The bigness of each side of the equation reduces more and more people to alienated servants of the vast organizations. Fewer and fewer people make the decisions. And as service and clerical workers are rarely unionized, the jobs created pay poorly.

Walgreens' marketing strategy is organized around the automobile. The corporation locates free standing stores at the corner of major intersections, according to company spokesperson Michael Polzin. Walgreens, at the busy intersection of 51st and Telegraph, with its large parking lots, will bring more traffic congestion and more exhaust. Ultimately, Walgreens moves the entire society father from a car-free future and closer to technological ruin. It is doubtful that the developer plans any bike racks at the store; the 34th and Telegraph store has no place to lock a bike.

In Berkeley and Oakland, communities need to start organizing for local control, for worker control of job sites, for decent jobs,

for ecological urban development which uses existing buildings, and for bike or foot friendly planning. The last thing Oakland needs is more

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A few pennies

Continued from Page 5

to increase the state minimum to \$6.06 per hour. In New York, activists filed a lawsuit to force an increase to \$6.00 per hour. On January 25 the Delaware legislature increased that state's minimum wage to \$5.00 per hour in response to a labor led campaign. In Texas a union led initiative petition aims to increase the Texas minimum wage to \$6.50 per hour.

And in California, unions and community groups have been collecting signatures for an initiative that would increase the California minimum wage to \$5.75 per hour by 1998. All signatures are due in mid-April so it is unclear as this is written whether the initiative will make it to the ballot.

If the California initiative were to pass, about 1.8 million California Workers would get a raise. Nationally, an increase of only 90 cents would give 12 million of the poorest workers a raise. And contrary to anti-worker myth, most minimum wage earners are *not* teenagers. Over 80 percent are heads of their household or married. A disproportionate 32 percent are persons of color. About half are employed

full time and almost 40 percent are the sole wage earner in their family (including many working mothers.)

Raising the minimum wage to \$5.75 or even \$6.00 is not, of course, raising it to a *living* wage. Increasing it to \$6.00 only catches up with the 1960s or 70s. What is needed is a campaign to raise the minimum wage to, say, \$10.00 per hour. At that level, workers with families can support them at a decent level. However, for the millions of workers making only \$4.25 now, any increase in the minimum is an emergency necessity *now*.

Locally, those interested in the campaign to increase the minimum wage can contact Matt at (510) 632-4242.

--PB Floyd

Our network of co-operative houses has pooled funds to start several communal organic orchards this year. There are opportunities to join with us both on the land and in Berkeley. We are also helping the Northern California Land Trust construct a bicycle/transit based sustainable co-operative "model home" this summer.

Get Involved
GreenPLAN 849-9673

¡Vive Tepoztlan Libre!



Dialog on Affirmative Action

Continued from Page 4

death by adults for "stealing" food from a store (the lynching and death of a child)?

Even here you see people eating garbage and asking for spare change.

Like Mujah Shakur said, it is necessary to speak of a CONSPIRACY because rich people could give a shit about the precarious state of our lives. Reforms aren't doing anything to help us in this situation. I believe in the action of groups that are already working practically to promote cooperation amongst one another, you know? Far from the vigilance of the Regents and their Chancellors. The best schools for poor people are the community and social movements that give cohesion and security to a real and profound self-determination. Without concessions!!!

Gru: Its a lot easier to say "no concessions" than to practice it. Yes I think self-determination and widespread mutual aid are unquestionably better than begging for crumbs, but the question is, how do we get there? There are some groups, like the land spatters in Brazil who are pretty direct in their action: they want land, they take it. But not everyone is ready to do that. I think some people need to take steps toward things. maybe that's my Marxist upbringing speaking. In any case if nothing else, a reform movement has the ability to radicalize people when it fails.

Like when S.N.C.C. was doing voter registration in Mississippi in 1964, and organized this whole alternative delegation to the National Democratic Convention, and then were finally refused participation in the Convention because even though the Democrats had been sweet talking them the whole time, they actually depended on the racist white Southern vote to get elected. What I mean is that since reforms like affirmative action will only take people half way to any kind of true equality, it at least provides a place to start thinking about what



4-10 members) had to wait for accords that never came, or thought they had to elect some leftist to resolve things. So now the PT has a bunch of officials sitting in Congress, spending public funds for things that only really benefit the middle class (like access to universities, health plans, more police). Finally the squatters broke off with the left and their reforms, took land and had a place to live, food and the cops after them too. There are massacres of squatters sometimes, but violent death isn't anything new for poor people. If people didn't occupy land they would have died of cold in the street or starved waiting for reforms.

I think if SNCC tried to accomplish things by legal means and got frustrated, that merely points to the fact that the other things they were doing at the time were a lot more interesting. the fact that they were organizing themselves and educating their communities, confronting the racist power structures, all of that work shows an anarchist impulse and was happening both before and after they got

If we are suffering violence, both direct and the violence of poverty, there's no reason to keep on sitting here getting hit

frustrated with the Democrats. More than anything, they had the responsibility to fight back when they were being attacked, and that kind of action has nothing to do with laws, but with the courage of Black people and radical CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Gru: So you think the basic difference between "reform" movements and revolutionary ones are class consciousness and an anti-authoritarian means of organizing?

hand, neither does affirmative action, since life wasn't exactly peachy for people of color with affirmative action in place, and the best thing to do might be for communities to start creating counter institutions to meet those needs themselves. It just seems like to mobilize people on a larger scale something like affirmative action might be more useful.

Valo: Mobilize people for what though? A mass movement doesn't mean anything if the people in it aren't fully educated on what they're working towards, or if they're being controlled by other people. As far as the Zapatistas go, they weren't the ones who wanted to negotiate, but the government who forced them into it. And they never would have gotten as far as they have just sitting around asking nicely. In fact they tried that for a long time and it didn't work.

Let me tell you about what happened in São Paulo with the transportation companies to show you what I mean. As you know, São Paulo is an enormous city (20 million inhabitants) with bad transportation problems. In 1993, the city sold all of its busses to the private companies who had already been operating, and fares rose drastically. Transportation already took up to 20% of some people's salaries and because there weren't enough busses on the roads, the long delays for people to get to and from work got even longer.

A lot of individuals began buying busses from the city and driving routes, charging less

than the official bus companies. Though they were actually helping solve the city's transportation problems, they were also competition for the bus companies and the city soon devised a plan to put a stop to the unofficial busses.

So what did the city do? They offered to license the illegal busses. Many unofficial drivers knew that if the city gave out licenses to a few of them, the rest would be forced to

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Continued from Page 4

Washington, a reporter for the *Philadelphia Observer* and criminal justice scholar, nor those of Leonard Weinglass, Abu-Jamal's chief counsel.

In the second article, the very first paragraphs read: "NABJ's 20th anniversary was barely underway when unexpected guests crashed the party. ...They came in support of death-row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal. But they quickly overstayed their welcome."

Upon Sabo's granting the Stay of Execution, August 7, Pam Africa, a member of the MOVE organization and a paralegal working with the defense team who's been on the front lines of Mumia's campaign for freedom, cautioned, "This is a long way from over. Mumia goes back to a cell. These people don't like him. They want to kill him. We are still working in the shadow of death."

Mumia and the Prison Radio Project filed a lawsuit on March 26, 1996 against National Public Radio. The suit charges that NPR's last-minute decision not to air Mumia's commentaries censored him, and at the same time denied listeners a perspective that continues to be missing from the airways. Not only did NPR cave into pressure by Bob Dole and the Fraternal Order of pigs, but they still refuse to release the commentaries on life on death row and other critiques of the sytem that unjustly put him there.

While I'm greatly relieved that we are not looking at an imminent death date, I'm afraid we've lost a lot of the momentum mounted over the last summer—that people are relaxing

the pressure in demanding Mumia's release from this outrageous torture he's been suffering for 14 years when his only "crime" is



crumbs, but the question is, how do we get there? There are some groups, like the land spatters in Brazil who are pretty direct in their action: they want land, they take it. But not everyone is ready to do that. I think some people need to take steps toward things. Maybe that's my Marxist upbringing speaking. In any case if nothing else, a reform movement has the ability to radicalize people when it fails.

Like when S.N.C.C. was doing voter registration in Mississippi in 1964, and organized this whole alternative delegation to the National Democratic Convention, and then were finally refused participation in the Convention because even though the Democrats had been sweet talking them the whole time, they actually depended on the racist white Southern vote to get elected. What I mean is that since reforms like affirmative action will only take people half way to any kind of true equality, it at least provides a place to start thinking about what we're missing, to get frustrated and then hopefully move on to more direct forms of struggle, or lead people to mistrust authority even as they continue to deal with them.

A mass movement doesn't mean anything if the people in it aren't fully educated on what they're working towards

Valo: Those frustrations may truly lead people not to trust the system, but have you ever hear a Christian say that in order to get to paradise first you must suffer? Well, capitalism is exactly the same. Any boss will tell you that in order to be like him you have to SUFFER and WORK HARD. Beware of those who tell you not to go directly after what you want and talk about emancipation in the same breath. These people want to get you to be dependent on the hierarchy, whether it be in the union, political group or amongst your crew, for their own personal benefit.

This is exactly what happened to the land squatters when they were working under the guidance of the liberal left, the Worker's Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores* or PT). Plenty of times their demands were taken to Congress to be discussed and then the squatters (sometimes 400 families each with

reforms. I think if SNCC tried to accomplish things by legal means and got frustrated, that merely points to the fact that the other things they were doing at the time were a lot more interesting. The fact that they were organizing themselves and educating their communities, confronting the racist power structures, all of that work shows an anarchist impulse and was happening both before and after they got

If we are suffering violence, both direct and the violence of poverty, there's no reason to keep on sitting here getting hit

frustrated with the Democrats. More than anything, they had the responsibility to fight back when they were being attacked, and that kind of action has nothing to do with laws, but with the courage of Black people and radical CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS.

Gru: So you think the basic difference between "reform" movements and revolutionary ones are class consciousness and an anti-authoritarian means of organizing? Because just about everyone ends up negotiating with the bosses at some point. The anarchist movements at the turn of the century fought for the 8 hour work day, the

land squatters negotiate with the police to keep from being killed and even the Zapatistas are having talks with the Mexican government at the moment. Because they do have class consciousness—perhaps, the Zapatistas are demanding rights not just for themselves, but for all other poor and indigenous people both inside and outside of Chiapas. The Mexican government probably won't give them those demands, they'll have to fight for them and get support from other parts of Mexico and the world, but it does make sense to me for them to demand it, because it's a way that people understand of talking about what they need. Maybe affirmative action isn't the right demand because it doesn't go far enough. We could be demanding equal access to education for all, but it's a lot less likely to be met and therefore doesn't satisfy the immediate needs of people for jobs and education. On the other

than the official bus companies. Though they were actually helping solve the city's transportation problems, they were also competition for the bus companies and the city soon devised a plan to put a stop to the unofficial busses.

A lot of individuals began buying busses from the city and driving routes, charging less

with bad transportation problems. In 1993, the city sold all of its busses to the private companies who had already been operating, and fares rose drastically. Transportation already took up to 20% of some people's salaries and because there weren't enough busses on the roads, the long delays for people to get to and from work got even longer.

So what did the city do? They offered to license the illegal busses. Many unofficial drivers knew that if the city gave out licenses to a few of them, the rest would be forced to stop and be persecuted. So they decided not to accept the offer. Of course a few drivers did accept the offer which was to legalize only 10% of the new busses. The city began arresting the illegal drivers, take away their busses and stick them with huge fines. The drivers began to meet together and had some huge demonstrations. A portion of them were legalized, but this caused really big problems for the other drivers. The number of unofficial busses dropped drastically, the prices went up and everyone had to ride super crowded busses again.

Gru: I guess you could see Affirmative Action in the same light. It creates opportunities for a few people, encourages them to leave their communities and creates competition amongst people of color by rewarding only a few rather than helping the entire community.

Valo: Uh huh. Reforms, making demands to Congress and all that, they're just trying to get us to ask for things nicely, wait in line, wait our turn. But our turn isn't gonna just arrive, "they" are never gonna give us what we really need. If we are suffering violence, both direct and the violence of poverty, there's no reason to keep on sitting here getting hit.

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that he survived attempted murder by a police officer. After all, these same powers are still determined to silence "the voice of the voiceless."

Mumia could still spend many more years incarcerated under tortuous conditions if we allow our movement to be diffused by a mere postponement of the date with death. As Mumia stated, "I am now not under an active death warrant, although I remain under an active death sentence; thus I still sojourn in hell."

Mumia will only get a speedy new trial if we turn up the heat and keep up the pressure. I urge everyone who reads this to find what's going on in your area and join the campaign to FREE MUMIA!

For more information, you can write to the International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal @ P.O. Box 19709, Philadelphia, PA 19143, or call them at (215) 476-8812.

Ashkenaz

Music and Dance Café



Bleeding the life out of Ogoniland

Continued from Page 7

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Continued from Page 7

vocal individuals" (as quoted in *Z Magazine*, Mitchel Cohen, Feb. 1996). These plans were carried out and paid for by Shell Oil, who financed transportation, oil field guards, and pay bonuses for some troops.

Geronimo

Continued from Page 3

attempts to ignore the international campaign for his freedom. A court hearing for Garcetti to make a recommendation to the Court as to whether Geronimo should have a new trial, is now set for April 18.

A massive public demand for justice in this case is now urgently required in order to win Geronimo's freedom. Contact Judge James A. Bascue at 213 974-5711 (fax 213 680-8867) and request that he grant Geronimo a new trial. Or contact Gil Garcetti at 213 974-3501 (fax 213 974-1484) to demand that justice be done.

Much of the military pressure financed by Shell to crush Ogoni resistance has been devastating. Owens Saro-Wiwa, Ken's brother, "estimates that the attacks largely destroyed about 30 Ogoni villages, killing some 2,000 people," (*New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1996). Furthermore, as a result of Shell's support to crush MOSOP activity, the Nigerian dictatorship imprisoned Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other MOSOP supporters.

Ignoring international protest, Ken Saro-Wiwa and the 8 others were sentenced to death after being found guilty of inciting a riot which supposedly led to the murder of four government chiefs and the destruction of Shell property. Saro-Wiwa's trial was seen, largely, as a sham. Two key witnesses, in fact, later admitted that they were bribed to fabricate evidence to condemn Saro-Wiwa. The trial of Ken Saro-Wiwa brought international attention to the violence imposed upon Ogonis by Nigerian authority and Shell

Oil. In November of 1995, however, the military establishment of Gen. Sani Abacha executed Ken Saro-Wiwa and the 8 others

Currently, eighteen more people in Ogoniland are facing the possibility of execution because of their political activity in opposition to Shell Oil's exploitative business and activities. Although other oil companies, such as Chevron, were also protested against because of their ecologically destructive business carelessness in Ogoni, it is Shell Oil and the Nigerian government who are responsible for the greatest damages and murder of Ogonis.

Unless pressure is increased, the eighteen prisoners facing possible execution will also be killed by Nigerian authority, and the exploitation of Ogoniland and the people upon it will continue to suffer unjustifiable hardships. In response to this situation, concerned U.S. residents should take action against Shell Oil in the United States.

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Continued from Page 1

first wave, the colonial period (1680s-1803), new arrivals were mostly English-speaking and saw themselves as settlers, not immigrants. The word 'immigrant' did not even enter American terminology until after the revolutionary war. The second great wave of immigration, 1820-1920, coincided with the nation's urban development and industrialization, and was also primarily made up of Europeans. This second wave can be further divided: 1820-1890, when people came mostly from northern Europe (Germany, Ireland, Great Britain), and 1890-1920 when a majority came from southern and eastern Europe. The third wave, from the mid-1960s to the present, has occurred during the suburban boom and the emergence of a post-industrial economy. This wave has brought immigrants primarily from Latin America, but also some Asian countries.

Immigration—and opposition to it—have always been defining issues in American history. Historically, immigration has increased during times of economic growth, and has been met with surges in anti-foreigner sentiment during economic downturns. But it is also important to see immigration in a global context—with the U.S. as a receiving country, a receiving country not in a vacuum, but among other receiving countries who together have a relationship with "sending countries" in a world defined by an imperialist order.

In 1776, the time of the American Revolution, the colonies were greatly interested in recruiting new settlers. However, the tremendous influx of immigrants arriving by the mid-19th century made many previous-arrivals nervous, particularly when large numbers began to arrive from non-Northern European countries. Like today, early immigrants were often the focus of a vocal (so-called) "nativist" movement to keep others out. The early, mainly Protestant settlers were particularly concerned about the Catholic influence brought by the newer Irish, and some German, immigrants. They feared that Catholics would be loyal to the Church

Immigration History

sentiment was so strong that in 1854 the California Supreme Court barred Chinese immigrants from testifying in any case involving a white man. (Man is a key word here, since women's value did not measure up in such equations. In the 1907 Expatriation Act, American women lost citizenship when marrying a foreigner.)

Migrant Labor

But the United States has not just acted passively in receiving immigration. To varying

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degrees and at different times in history, immigrants have been actively recruited from their home countries, usually at the initiation of labor-hungry U.S. employers. One must also understand world population migrations in the context of world political and economic structures, specifically the way that social forces within the U.S. are responsible for creating the conditions in "sending" countries that cause people to leave.

In the 19th century the United States was a growing industrializing country that needed labor. Immigration was not simply a case of an "alien invasion," but was welcomed by urban employers and rural growers. There was a strong demand for immigration. U.S. railroad companies (and later agribusiness) began to pull Mexican workers into the western U.S. in the 1880s. Following the Mexican Revolution of 1910, California growers became so dependent on Mexican workers that they convinced Congress to exempt Mexican

Spanish-speaking communities, migration traces its origin to the political and economic restructuring of post-colonial societies. There is a pattern of external intervention forcing internal restructuring. This economic re-orientation compliments the economy of the dominant country by creating new markets for their exports and cheap resources and labor. Thus a subsistence peasantry becomes incorporated into the money economy. Immigration is the inevitable result of such changes in economic and political structures around the world.

The case of Central America is even more



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fortress world, in particular by the western world whose imperialism has created the social devastation and economic mayhem which has lead to mass movements of people in this century. There is a war being waged. Countries of Europe and North America are the aggressors, immigration control it the weapon, and people of color, by and large, are the victims. However, every western country attempts to 'justify' immigration restrictions by a process of doublespeak which pretends that the *initiators* of this war are people from the Third World, and the imperialist states of the world are the victims. 'War,' 'battle,' 'invasion,' 'state security,' this is the vocabulary used by western countries to justify tightening the circle of immigration control.

Around 1 million arrests are made each year on the Mexican border. The border underlines the privilege of those in the North while insulating them from the political turmoil and economic desperation of their neighbors. But the border is in reality just an arbitrary line drawn in the sand. What the border really stands for is shorthand for a whole set of social relations, defined and enforced by a state representing a ruling class. Immigration status has nothing to do with a migrant's actual activity. Immigration status is dependent on the "law," which changes with the economic demands of business. Thus, the U.S. state can let in those people they want by labeling someone a 'refugee' or keep them out by defining them as 'illegal'. To describe someone as 'illegal' is dehumanizing and reduces human beings to the status of 'non-persons.' It is ultimately political, having nothing to do with a person's intrinsic behavior, and everything to do with the political economy of racism.

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immigration—opposition to it—have always been defining issues in American history. Historically, immigration has increased during times of economic growth, and has been met with surges in anti-foreigner sentiment during economic downturns. But it is also important to see immigration in a global context—with the U.S. as a receiving country, a receiving country not in a vacuum, but among other receiving countries who together have a relationship with “sending countries” in a world defined by an imperialist order.

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In 1840, anti-Irish/anti-Catholic sentiments roared throughout the country. Nearly 2 million mostly-destitute Irish entered the U.S. in the 1840s and 50s. In response to huge numbers of immigrants arriving from Germany, debate raged over whether immigrants should be required to learn English and whether schools should be required to teach English only.

By the 1880s-90s, the majority of people arriving were from southern and eastern Europe (Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, Albania, etc.) These newer immigrants had mostly dark skin, hair, and eyes, were mainly Catholic or Jewish, poor, and a large number were uneducated—even illiterate. Many established ‘Americans’ found all these traits undesirable, so the new immigrants faced discrimination in hiring, housing, etc. “No Italians Need Apply” became a common sign over company doors, just as “No Irish Need Apply” signs had been a generation earlier. The American Federation

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But government policies and social-cultural tolerance shifted with the economic winds. When the depression hit, Mexican labor was no longer needed and over 300,000 “illegals” were rounded-up and deported. Then when World War 2 created a labor shortage in the U.S. the government brokered a deal with Mexico, known as the ‘bracero’ program, to allow some 4 million Mexican workers to come north. Once the war ended—and the labor shortage with it—the INS launched ‘Operation Wetback’ (no joke), and deported 2-5 million people between 1953 and 1956.

Internationalism

Beyond just the relative appeal of coming to the U.S., we should look at the forces that drive people to leave their homelands. \$50 billion a year travels from the poor countries of the world to rich ones. This fact alone makes it understandable that residents of less-developed countries, seeing their resources and the products of their labor brought to the U.S., should want to follow. But there’s more to it than that. Most people who immigrate are fleeing conditions in which they are unable to sustain themselves and their families—whether because of eroded crop lands



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revealing. In the first three decades of the 20th century, the U.S. sent troops to Central America and the Caribbean 28 times. And in more recent times, the U.S. has spent fortunes backing repressive Central American regimes and intervening in civil wars there, meanwhile U.S. corporations have been making big profits off of the repressive situation. People were/are forced by repressive U.S.-backed social-military conditions to work for cheap and take what they can get. When many people left, as they did in the 80s, for the United States, they were met by discriminatory refugee immigration policies designed to keep them out—designed by the same people who were instrumental in creating the situation back home. (U.S. refugee immigration policy is heavily biased in favor of people fleeing communist countries, and against people fleeing repressive right-wing regimes.) The state’s war against immigrants here, then, can be seen as a continuation of its other wars abroad. The result is that Central Americans are caught in an international matrix orchestrated by the U.S. ruling class.

This shows how ominously the border can come to be seen. A flow of people can be classified as a political exodus or an illegal group of economically-motivated immigrants, depending on how it serves the interests of

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For many Mexicans, immigrating to the US means returning to a place that was once

theirs. They arrive as descendants of a twice-conquered people: their indigenous ancestors were conquered by Spain in the early 16th century, and then again by the U.S. invasion of the West and its annexation from Mexico (1836-48). Many people living in the Southwest became foreigners in their own land after the U.S. occupation.

Deconstruction

Anti-immigrant controls in the U.S. are essentially a process of constructing a Northern European ascendancy—it is a continuation of the 500-year Euro-colonization of the hemisphere. The “melting pot” mythology didn’t really happen: it was never everybody who was supposed to melt. On the contrary, everyone was supposed to become like the Anglo-Americans. After the conquest of native America was completed in 1924, Indian children were herded into far-away boarding schools and forbidden to speak their own languages. Forced assimilation was, and is, a government policy. The end result of removing a people’s language and culture is to remove their life support system. Witness today ‘English only’ laws and similar proposed legislation.

The goal of the colonizer is not usually wholesale genocide, but rather to bring the subjects into a new way of life, to serve as

reproducing quickly and coming to outnumber others, thereby gaining political control. And of course there were the usual fears of foreigners willing to work for less money, stealing jobs from needy Americans and becoming a drain on resources.

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In 1875 anti-immigration movements got legislation passed prohibiting convicts and prostitutes from immigrating. In 1882 Congress further barred "idiots, lunatics, and persons likely to become public charges." That year also saw passage of the first law discriminating against immigrants on the basis of race: many Chinese immigrants began arriving in California around the time of the gold rush. Americans had tolerated them as long as they were only in small numbers. But when numbers started increasing so rapidly that they seemed to pose a threat to the jobs and wages of "native" Americans and might eventually want the benefits of citizenship, many Americans, especially Californians, began a movement against the Chinese. This activism resulted in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 forbidding Chinese laborers immigrating and any Chinese naturalization. Anti-Chinese

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depressed economies, or repressive governments. The U.S. has played a central role in the emergence of the global economy, in economic restructuring, and therefore in helping to create these conditions which give rise to international migration.

In the case of Puerto Rico, it is clear how economic "integration" (U.S. investment in export-oriented manufacturing and U.S.-led agricultural modernization) sparked migration. Peasants found they no longer had a vital place in the domestic economy because of U.S. investment in sugar plantations and non-traditional exports, but where were these people going to go?

From Puerto Rico, Mexico, and other

powerful groups in the U.S. at the time. The U.S. government could not recognize refugees from the Central American conflicts because a) it would acknowledge that their foreign policy was supporting repressive forces in the region, and b) the crunch to the population there, heightened by an inability to emigrate, would help keep wages low and people desperate—thereby contributing to U.S. profits and aiding U.S. geo-political interests in the region.

Fortress Amerikkka

The U.S. manifests an almost absolute convergence between refugee policy and its own imperial, economic interests. Migrants, immigrants, and refugees are confronted by a

century, and then again by the U.S. invasion of the West and its annexation from Mexico (1836-48). Many people living in the Southwest became foreigners in their own land after the U.S. occupation.

Deconstruction

Anti-immigrant controls in the U.S. are essentially a process of constructing a Northern European ascendancy—it is a continuation of the 500-year Euro-colonization of the hemisphere. The "melting pot" mythology didn't really happen: it was never everybody who was supposed to melt. On the contrary, everyone was supposed to become like the Anglo-Americans. After the conquest of native America was completed in 1924, Indian children were herded into far-away boarding schools and forbidden to speak their own languages. Forced assimilation was, and is, a government policy. The end result of removing a people's language and culture is to remove their life support system. Witness today 'English only' laws and similar proposed legislation.

The goal of the colonizer is not usually wholesale genocide, but rather to bring the subjects into a new way of life, to serve as peons in a European-style society. The social/historical forces behind immigration/migration aren't fundamentally different from the forces that took Native Americans off their land initially, that cause the break-up of land-based societies and migration to cities generally, and the whole juggernaut of modernization and "development." Economic expansion (through foreign trade, investment, and financial dealings), together with an interventionist foreign policy, helps establish the context for international migration. Population flows subsequently arise spontaneously out of the resulting economic inequalities world-wide. The border is nothing but an arbitrary checkpoint for the domestic ruling class. They employ their state to regulate and control populations within the system to best use them to serve their needs. A prerequisite of respect and dignity for all people is the freedom to travel where you want as a fundamental human right. This means taking out the borders. And since these borders are integral to the current social equation, this also means taking out the ruling class and their state.

-N. Waters

LBL Waste

Continued from Page 3

landslides. If the winds had shifted during the East Bay firestorm of October, 1991, the entire LBL compound would have gone up in a conflagration. The United States Geological Service (USGS) recently concluded that the likelihood of a 7.0 or greater earthquake on the Hayward fault in the next 30 years is 80%. The Wildcat Fault, a branch of the Hayward Fault, lies under the new LBL toxic waste compound.

What You Can Do:

People should write to the California Environmental Protection Agency's Department of Toxic Substances Control (DTSC), and urge them to deny the "Permit Modifications" that the LBL needs to expand its toxic waste storage capacity. The DTSC's address is: 700 Heinz Avenue, Suite 200, Berkeley, CA 94710

People should also tell the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory to either prepare a full Environmental Impact Report for their hazardous waste expansion plans, or to drop their expansion plans entirely, and instead discontinue ALL of their research projects that use or result in Radioactive or Mixed Waste. LBL's address is: 1 Cyclotron Road, Berkeley, CA 94720; phone #486-5257. Ask them for a copy of the "Initial Study Checklist and Environmental Information Form for the Modification of Hazardous Waste Handling facility Waste Operations at LBL." April 15 is the deadline to formally comment on this document to both LBL and DTSC.

And, people should write to the Berkeley Council (2180 Milvia Street, Berkeley, CA 94702) and demand that the Council actively oppose LBL's toxic waste expansion project. You can also speak at Council meetings during the public comment period. Although the Council has been critical of the project, it has never formally opposed it. The city's planning staff has been reluctant to follow through on City Council and Planning Commissions motions that are critical of LBL's plans.

LBL recently agreed to expand the service area of its Fire Department, and in return,

Banking on Global Misery

Continued from Page 3

to their implementation, neither the funders nor those being 'developed' are given a chance to give input.

Likewise, private transnational corporations are in full force across the world. There is no denying that big businesses are focused solely on profit, with social and environmental impacts ignored at best, plundered at worst. What is also apparent, more than 50 years

They have also succeeded in destroying any active domestic economic activities; southern states are used for both natural resources (trees, mining, fishing, agriculture) and human resources (labor), and often rely on only a few, export-based commodities for their foreign exchange earnings. So while Ghana might produce a majority of the world's cocoa (it's main export), local domestic food production is

culture, high infant mortality rates, exploitation—they are all 'up', too, and this is the other face of structural adjustment.

With NAFTA and GATT in effect, the situation only seems gloomier. Capital and corporation are allowed to move freely—labor is not. This is the 'new' global political economy, and at the top of that system sits the World Bank.

This generalizes what a SAP is. Naturally Papua New Guinea's SAP is different from Mexico's, which is different from Morocco's, which is different from Somalia's. Individual country histories and resource specifics can mean radically different effects and implications on a culture and/or a country. However, the similarities across the board regarding characteristics of and destruction by SAPs are too clear to ignore.

Workers, small farmers, unions, small businesses, environmentalists—none of these fit into the World Bank picture in the north or the south. The problems abound at every level—any resistance must take into account local, national, regional and global links.

—M. Bee

SAPs radically alter a country's social and economic structures, while denying all real chances for the creation of domestic markets, or of programs that do anything useful for the majority of the people.

after its inception, is that the World Bank does not have poverty or hunger reduction as its goal. The implementation of SAPs as the main criteria for World Bank development loans have failed miserably if that were the case. What they have succeeded at is destroying internal economies of the third world, including stopping and ultimately destroying the threat of an activist, unified third world that seemed imminent (however theoretical) from the 1950s to the 1970s.

virtually non-existent, and there is a reliance on imported food. Whatever local, small-scale food production is done is on the worst farming lands, as the best lands are privatized and sold to foreign investors.

While the economic figures might look good on paper—GNPs up, etc.—the situation for the majority of the people is not. Joblessness, forced relocation, poverty, urbanization, lack of health care, lack of (or forced) education, increased pollution in air and water, loss of

People's Park

Continued from Page 9

least improve its public image, by this summer, the City will almost certainly attempt to remove it. And although it seems unlikely that programmed sports activities will be used to damage the community, it remains a possibility. Police harassment remains a serious problem in the Park.

After the authorities withdrew their original plans, mainstream newspaper articles suggested that the City and University had backed off because violent protest had subsided. In reality, of course, violent protest has stopped because City and University interference had subsided. The People's Park community has allowed the government to declare victory and get out, in exchange for peace. Although this saves lives and resources,



Letters to Slingshot

Continued from Page 2

government is enslaving folks with, and is encouraging people to get together to push these corrupt politicians to take care of and provide for people like they *swore* to do when they were begging for votes, instead of taking every bit of funding, jobs away from the poor and middle class and giving them nothing in return but black, white,

To the People

At the end of March 1996, MOVE members are unjustly serving a total of 900 years for the shooting death of cop Ramp on August 8, 1978. Judge Malmed convicted 9 MOVE members for killing *one* cop with *one* bullet that came from *one* gun. How can 9 people kill one cop with one bullet that came from one gun. Judge Malmed admitted on public radio, when asked who actually killed that cop, that he did not know who

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LBL recently agreed to expand the service area of its Fire Department, and in return, Mayor Shirley Dean and City Council members will likely be obligated to drop their criticism of LBL's toxic waste expansion plans. In August 1995, LBL cut the size of its fire department, and declared that their fire department would no longer provide automatic response to fires outside of the LBL compound. Although the new agreement restores some of LBL's previous fire service, LBL refuses to restore any of their fire department staff cuts. --Clifford Fred

BART Fares Going Up

Continued from Page 1

A move is afoot to boycott the pay raises of BART by encouraging BART employees to "look the other way" as riders jump the gate. Appearing in BART neighborhoods are flyers of "Friends of Black Bart" (a 19th century poet & stagecoach robber who stole from Wells Fargo coaches with care not to harm the riders). The flyers point out the economic

case. What they have succeeded at is destroying internal economies of the third world, including stopping and ultimately destroying the threat of an activist, unified third world that seemed imminent (however theoretical) from the 1950s to the 1970s.

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After the authorities withdrew their original plans, mainstream newspaper articles suggested that the City and University had backed off because violent protest had subsided. In reality, of course, violent protest has stopped because City and University interference had subsided. The People's Park community has allowed the government to declare victory and get out, in exchange for peace. Although this saves lives and resources, the opportunity to create a defeat for domestic U.S. imperialism for all to see is lost.

Thus the challenge for People's Park users, activists and supporters is not to accept the preservation of the Park as an end in itself. The model demonstrated, taking back land from the system, defending it, and building models of communal life upon it, needs to be implemented in poor communities throughout the Bay Area, throughout the U.S. and throughout the world. --Capt. W.N.

BART is becoming, a WEB site, a 10 person team to help you "plan your trip", an expensive policing system to catch fare evaders that costs more than letting them just ride free, snazzy police cars, administrative excess and corruption, and two new high tech stations to sleepy irrelevant suburbs. If BART wanted to increase ridership (and thereby profits because it is quite cost effective to only have to add on a few cars to existing lines) they should **lower** fares!

We need to recognize that outrageous fares and limited scheduling of public transportation as an attack on the freedom of the working class. What is the significance of cutting bus service at night and on weekends? The state

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Information about revolution is *vital* for people to have because things ain't getting no better because of government, but steadily worse and that's one reason why I'm writing. Move is a revolutionary organization based in Phila., PA. I'm sending some information about Move for yall's information and hope that you can print this enlightening information about Move in the *Slingshot*...

Ona Move-
Merle (Austin) Africa
#006306
SCI-Cambridge Springs
451 Fullerton Ave.
Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238

Crabtree Obituary

I was sincerely delighted to hear of the death of BART Police officer Fred Crabtree. Rarely does one person meet his or her death who deserved it more.

Imagine being BART Police Officer Fred Crabtree's girlfriend. First your boyfriend goes and shoots to death, (shotgun-blast to the back of the head) a 19 year-old unarmed black man named Jerrold Hall. This is in 1993. There is a public outcry by the families and supporters of

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But in MOVE's case just proving our innocence ain't enough. We're committed MOVE members and *this* is what we are *really* guilty of and sentenced to 30-100 years *each* for, *not the murder charges*. This was proven when the government immediately released 2 other people who were also arrested on August 8, 1978, charged with the *same* charges MOVE members have been in prison 15 years for, but released *despite* the fact that they were in the house during the shoot-in because they stated to officials that they were not MOVE members. The government has repeatedly released people who were arrested on the same charges as MOVE members not once but several times because these people stated they were no longer MOVE members. The government goes on to prove their prejudicial injustice, written in black and white by denying *any* and *all* committed MOVE members parole unless they became ex-MOVE members. If any MOVE member in prison were to contact the government right now and tell them they no longer wanted to be in MOVE they would be released, regardless of the charges or the sentences. This is the blatant injustice, religious persecution MOVE is faced with from the government. As long as we are MOVE members there is no legal justice in this system for MOVE

LBL's toxic waste expansion plans. In August 1995, LBL cut the size of its fire department, and declared that their fire department would no longer provide automatic response to fires outside of the LBL compound. Although the new agreement restores some of LBL's previous fire service, LBL refuses to restore any of their fire department staff cuts. --Clifford Fred

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In the face of BART's failure to provide basic affordable transportation it is a huge insult to see our money squandered in ridiculous ways including: advertisements explaining how great



BART is becoming, a WEB site, a 10 person team to help you "plan your trip", an expensive policing system to catch fare evaders that costs more than letting them just ride free, snazzy police cars, administrative excess and corruption, and two new high tech stations to sleepy irrelevant suburbs. If BART wanted to increase ridership (and thereby profits because it is quite cost effective to only have to add on a few cars to existing lines) they should **lower** fares!

We need to recognize that outrageous fares and limited scheduling of public transportation as an attack on the freedom of the working class. What is the significance of cutting bus service at night and on weekends? The state will subsidize getting us to the workplace but we're expected to stay home on our time off?!? Maybe we need actions to point out if there is no bus service there will be problems on the major auto routes as well.

Perhaps we could initiate private minivan routes, something between taxis and busses. Also all forms of non-polluting transportation need to be encouraged. It would be a worthwhile investment to provide a free bicycle to anyone who wanted one. Bike powered delivery and taxis should expand. People should be financially rewarded for leading car-free lifestyles, living near their work etc. Transportation employees (AC Transit, BART, taxis, toll keepers) need to recognize their power of working cooperatively for positive changes in transportation. The quality of life in an urban area is entirely connected to having a decent public transportation system. Many third world cities put Bay Area managers to shame. It's time to remove the corrupt, short-sighted officials who are selling out the environment, our freedom and the future of livable cities! End the stranglehold of capitalist oil companies!

The Lorax

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Imagine being BART Police Officer Fred Crabtree's girlfriend. First your boyfriend goes and shoots to death, (shotgun-blast to the back of the head) a 19 year-old unarmed black man named Jerrold Hall. This is in 1993. There is a public outcry by the families and supporters of Jerrold Hall and John-Henry Owens (Jerrold's friend that night, who was imprisoned for months charged with Jerrold's murder before being released.) Crabtree is accused of the cold-blooded murder, but authorities decide for him in an "investigation" that the murder of Jerrold was justified. Crabtree walked.

Then on March 9, 1996, you walk into your Livermore, CA bedroom and there is Fred Crabtree dead. He has died of auto-erotic asphyxiation, masturbating alone and choking himself with a length of rope tied to the bedposts. He passed out, and there was no-one to keep his limp body from suffocating. His come is still wet on his coldening and bluish hands and belly. He is very dead. You phone 911, but manage to dress him and clean up his body before anyone arrives.

Crabtree's death was barely mentioned in the local media. Not surprising, because the media was pretty much silent during the 1993-4 campaign for justice for Jerrold Hall. But local radicals and cop-haters are sincerely pleased by the karma involved in Crabtree's eventual death. However, friends and family of Jerrold Hall were a bit sad: Crabtree managed to die without ever having to pay his living debt for the 1993 murder of Jerrold Hall.

--Slingshot Obituary Writer In Exile

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We are not in prison because we allegedly killed nobody. We are in prison because we are MOVE members and that's what people need to understand. If anybody should be in prison, it is those city officials and cops who cold bloodily murdered 11 MOVE people, including children on Osage Avenue, May 13, 1985 in the face of the world, but they are walking the streets and have never been arrested. MOVE people are all political prisoners. MOVE is *not* a threat to the people. To quote John Africa:

...when an innocent person is sent to prison like guilty the principle of innocence is under attack and the innocence of all innocent is assaulted, an innocent example is a *free* example, those who are silent about the condition of the innocent is silent about the position of freedom, when innocence is jailed it ain't just *John Brown* that is jailed, *freedom* is jailed because freedom does not stop with John Brown no more than innocence stop with *John Brown's* mother,...

Long Live John Africa!
The MOVE Organization
P.O. Box 19709
Phila., PA 19143

Hip Events

April 13-16 **Nevada Test Site** Healing Global Wounds

Stop current waste shipments and new nuclear tests

April 12 Rally for **Free Radio Berkeley** on day of court hearing
9am 12th St BART Oakland then march to Federal Building

April 12 **Critical Mass Bike Ride** 5:30pm Berkeley BART
Reclaim the streets with pedal power

April 14 **March To Fight the Right** Meet 11am Bay St. (@Franklin

April 19-21 **Olympia Cooperative Circus** Anarchist Conference
hannah(360) 866-2434, chris(360) 753-7538

April 21 Rally to Stop **Lawrence Berkeley Lab's** Expansion
2pm Ho Chi Willard Park 3pm Field Trip to Haz Waste Site

April 27 **Soupstock '96** Food Not Bombs Free Concert
w/ The Coup noon to 6pm Band Shell in Golden Gate Park SF

April 28 **Peoples Park Anniversary** Faire & Concert
May 4,5,6 **Arcata Free Festival** Gathering to support
anarchist & activist community

May 11 March & Rally to **Defend Immigrants**
Noon Cesar Chavez & Mission Streets SF
1:30 Rally @ 16th and Mission

May 17 **Judi Bari & Robert Hoyt**
Music & Update on Judi's coming
court case against the FBI (May 24th)
7pm Unitarian Fellowship Cedar & Bonita.

May 20 **End Corporate Domination **
National Actions Call Earth First!
Hotline (510) 848-8724 for local actions

Summer Tour

Freedom Alert! Recently rewritten Federal Regulations now require a permit for any groups of over 75 people to gather on National Forest Land. This would affect happenings like the Rainbow Gathering, the Earth First Rendezvous, groups protesting land destruction, people peacefully assembling to petition their government for a redress of grievances, etc.

Stand up for your rights!

Idaho Cove Mallard Protest the cutting of the largest roadless area in the lower states.
Call Cove Mallard Coalition office (208) 882-9755 about base camp & actions.

Earth First! Rendezvous June 30th- July 6th Cove Mallard (510) 848-8725

Headwaters Forest Stay tuned for updates on court decisions

Rainbow Gathering July 1-7 Missouri Ozark Mountains

Chicago August 21-31 **Active Resistance** -a counter convention

June 13-16 Planning Conference for Chicago Active Resistance in Toledo

Contact: The Autonomous Zone 1573 N. Milwaukee #420 Chicago IL 60622

Food Not Bombs International Gathering July 11- Aug 5

Atlanta, Georgia 1-800-884-1136

Republican Convention Protest San Diego
sometime in August....ask a Frat boy when.

